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# New Republic

## the men around MOLOTOV

## the men around MARSHALL

**CLOSE-UPS OF THE MEN WHO MAKE FOREIGN POLICIES FOR TWO WORLDS**

## Back Home in Iowa
—by Henry Wallace

## Modest Movie Moguls
—by Thomas Whiteside

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# Washington Wire

## *No Quarter*

WE rather suspect Truman will call a special session of Congress to aid Europe, if the State Department boys can't think of some faster and more direct way of giving stopgap assistance. They are desperately looking for such a method now. They know that even if Congress is called, it may not act for months. The minute Congress meets, somebody is going to offer a new tax-cut bill, and politics will break out. A presidential election is just around the corner, and this time no quarter will be shown. For all anybody knows, the 1948 contest will turn on international affairs, just as did the first election after World War I. Both parties consequently are edgy about committing themselves.

The present situation is a beautiful illustration of the danger inherent in the slowness and cumbersomeness of the American system of government. The world increasingly demands speed and decision, but America's archaic system of divided authority makes it very difficult to get fast action, even though the world is going to pot without it.

HOUSEWIVES are queer people. They don't seem to realize that the problem of high prices has been taken care of. The Communist OPA has been abolished; the subversive New Dealer Chester Bowles has been kicked out of Washington; good old competitive Free Enterprise is busily at work bringing down prices, just as Bob Taft, the GOP and the National Association of Manufacturers all said it would, and everything is hunky-dory. So what are the housewives complaining about?

Until this week Canada's OPA was in full force and, despite some pretty thorough decontroling over the weekend, sugar, meat, wheat, fats and dried fruits are still regulated. The result is a relatively stable economy, real wages winning the race with inflation, prices a third less than those in the USA, and butter at 63 cents a pound.

But why should housewives pay attention to such stuff? Those Canadians are just a bunch of radicals, and if Mackenzie King hasn't passed a loyalty test yet, he ought to be given one.

To be more serious, US inflation has now reached a scary point that has blasted even the New York *Times* editorials out of the habit of blaming it all on strikes and wage demands. Even Taft is beginning to mumble something about "voluntary" food controls. What worries the *Times* (and Wall Street for that matter) is that the GOP wild men, as like as not, are coming back to Washington intent on shutting off *all* foreign aid. That really would be something! If we turn off the spigot on food shipments it will bring down US food prices in a hurry, all right; it will bring them down so fast that it will also probably bring the big-business bust right now, let alone starvation to five or 10 million Europeans.

Whether Congress, which killed the OPA, will now reinstitute some other form of legislative controls remains obscure, but one can't help sympathizing with the New York *Times* in its own particular editorial jam. It wants to aid Europe, but its domestic policy has now caught up with its European policy: it doesn't want to revive controls. At least it didn't last Thursday, when it mentioned the "discredited" OPA, and backed some kind of "voluntary" program, but by Saturday it had gulped hard and come out for rationing, "if necessary"—without once mentioning unions. You can bet your boots this is a real crisis.

WE take the Eisenhower presidential boom pretty seriously,

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**New Republic**

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for three reasons: Roy Roberts, of the Kansas City *Star*, issued as clever a political manifesto as we have seen, of the pseudo-artless type, assuring the public that Ike won't run unless he gets a real draft "from the people" (which, of course, is the first step in promoting such a draft). Second, Ike, in talking to reporters, didn't kill the drive, which he could have by a simple statement that he wouldn't run, and instead virtually gave it his blessing by pooh-poohing it (politicians know what that means). Third, most of the Republicans who will whoop it up for Dewey, if he is nominated, dislike him so much that they would eagerly desert if possible. These are reasons why Ike is definitely a man to be watched.

Meanwhile, nobody can say dear old Bob Taft isn't expressing his views on affairs; after Silent Tom's oleaginous tour of the West, Taft is quite a relief, even if his well known opinions are all somewhat to the right of the late William McKinley. Two happy carloads of Washington reporters are making the junket with Our Bob, recording his every comment. This leads to the sour-grapes observation of the Washington reporters who had to be left behind in the sweltering heat, that never before in history have so many jockeys managed to mount a dead horse.

WHY America continues buying gold we can't see. It is dug up; we pay $35 an ounce for it and then bury it in the ground again. Gold hoarding is an interesting tribal custom; it is a vestigial remnant, an economic vermiform appendix. But it gets even curiouser (as Alice said) when Bevins wants us to "redistribute" gold. The US now buys the useless stuff from Britain's South Africa, where gold mining is the major industry. Here is one commodity, quite worthless, which the US is willing to import, without tariffs, in unlimited quantities—in exchange for dollars. It is all quite preposterous, but what an aid to the rest of the world. Under the circumstances the best thing Bevin can do, we think, is to pipe down.

*Washington* T. R. B.

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New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 12, ISSUE 1712, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1947

# News in Focus

## Let 'Em Eat Votes

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT is way ahead of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report which he heads in Congress. As the Senator interrupted his campaign tour to advise the nation that the way to cut prices was to eat less, his committee was just packing its bags for a nationwide tour to find out if prices are really high.

Republican Senators Ralph E. Flanders (Vt.) and Arthur V. Watkins (Utah) and Representative George H. Bender (Ohio) will conduct public hearings on the price situation in more than twenty cities during the next few weeks. Presumably it is votes instead of facts the gentlemen are seeking, for a shopping trip with their wives or a phone call to the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Washington would provide convincing evidence that a dollar doesn't buy as much as it used to.

For the benefit of Senator Taft's colleagues, the *New Republic* provides the figures below to show what has happened in eight key cities since price controls were removed last July:

INDEXES OF PRICES
*(1935-1939=100)*

| | ALL COMMODITIES | | FOODS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Cities* | *June 1946* | *June 1947* | *June 1946* | *June 1947* |
| Atlanta | 133.8 | 159.1 | 141. | 193. |
| Birmingham | 136.5 | 162.1 | 147.7 | 197.3 |
| Boston | 127.9 | 150.3 | 138. | 179.6 |
| Philadelphia | 132.5 | 157.1 | 143.5 | 187.1 |
| Chicago | 130.9 | 158.3 | 142.8 | 193.9 |
| Minneapolis | 129.4 | 152.9 | 137.5 | 182.6 |
| Denver | 131.7 | 155.9 | 145.3 | 191.9 |
| Los Angeles | 136.1 | 156.3 | 154.8 | 193.8 |

## The Wethersfield Plan

IN a self-service market in Wethersfield, Connecticut, last week a housewife helped herself to some oranges under a sign marked "49 cents." When she had completed her purchases she noticed she had been charged 69 cents for her five pounds of oranges. "The sign said 49 cents," she protested. "I know," said the cashier, "but that was when you came in."

## The Dilemma Grows

SAN FRANCISCO (*NR* correspondent).—Twenty-five months after V-J Day, California is considering the reimposition of wartime controls. The California Public Utilities Commission is meeting to consider such ways and means of conserving electric power as:

¶ A "brownout" of advertising signs and non-essential lighting.

¶ A public campaign to conserve home use of electricity.

¶ Appointment of a power "czar" with authority to allocate the state's electrical energy.

Such rigid controls, almost identical with those imposed by the Army on the West Coast throughout most of the war, are being considered because of a California power shortage that, despite optimistic affirmations by private-power spokesmen, is worsening (see the *NR*, September 8, 1947).

At a preliminary hearing held by

# Jim Crow . . .

## In Alabama

IN the darkness the Negro soldier sat beside a white man. The bus driver pointed out his mistake. The Negro moved. The driver didn't like his attitude and put him off the bus. At the next town the driver passed out Greyhound cards for the passengers to sign, saying the Negro had been rough and unruly. The man by whom the soldier had sat refused to sign. "He did just what you told him," said the man. "You damned nigger-lover," said the driver. "I'll put *you* off the bus." "You and who else," the man replied, forgetting he was in Alabama, not home in Detroit. The bus driver fetched the police. The Detroit man was jailed overnight, fined.

# Jim Crow . . .

## In Washington

ON his way to work early one morning Julius Clegg, 26, a Negro war veteran employed by the Washington *Post*, was picked up by the police on complaint of a waitress that someone had made lewd remarks to her. Thirty-four hours later Clegg stumbled from jail bruised and bleeding. The waitress had been unable to identify him so he had been released without charges. While in jail, Clegg charged, two detectives beat and mauled him. Perhaps, in the long run, Clegg was better served than his brothers in the South. The Washington *Post* splashed his story on the front page and forced a grand-jury investigation of police brutality.

# Jim Crow . . .

## In Australia

PATRICK KENNELLY, Australia's Labor Government delegate, told the Commonwealth Conference of Labor Parties in Toronto that "we will never allow colored peoples into Australia." He said there are about 6,000 black aborigines left in Australia, "but they are a dying race and are kept on reservations." Negroes, Chinese, Japanese and other dark-skinned peoples are barred from the country. In view of the rough ride European and Palestine Jews are receiving at the hands of Britain's Labor Government, the election of labor (or should it be *Labour?*) regimes is apparently not sufficient guarantee of the right of racial minority groups.

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the CPUC, Louis Bartlett, a former mayor of Berkeley, criticized the Pacific Gas and Electric Company for intimating that the present power shortage is temporary. The dry-weather summer slump will be followed by an equally acute shortage in December, Bartlett testified, pointing out that the Southern California Edison Company had already reduced its deliveries to Pacific Gas and Electric and might soon have to stop them entirely.

At the same meeting Melvin Faith, chairman of the CIO Oil Workers' Union, argued that the power shortage was still dangerous at the Shell Chemical Company, the Dow Chemical Company and the Hercules Powder Company. Shell, Faith said, was operating under virtual blackout conditions already, with workers moving about in the dark and reading meters by flashlight. Farmers and fertilizer men agreed that the power shortage at plants making nitrogenous fertilizers had resulted, in turn, in both a dangerous shortage and a 30-percent price increase. California farmers are buying all the fertilizer they can get their hands on and hoarding it for their spring planting.

Perhaps portending the controls that are presently being considered, William Reich, of the California Farm Research and Legislative Committee, said: "To us farmers it seems alarming that unlimited quantities of electricity are wasted for such non-essential use as display advertising, neon lights, and even extended street lighting until late morning hours, when the production of fertilizer ingredients and those necessary for refining oil and gasoline is curtailed."

# The Czech Exception Disproves the Rules

## by Owen Lattimore

PRAGUE (by wireless).—Czechoslovakia is a country where approximately four out of 10 people voted the Communist ticket in the free and fair postwar election which determined the present government. The Czechoslovaks, nevertheless, are one of the most bourgeois peoples in the world. Moreover, Czechoslovakia is a strongly religious country with a solid Catholic majority (70 percent) and a lively Protestant minority.

The present national program—the Two-Year Plan, running through 1948—is heartily backed by the Communists, who are very active in it. No coalition of parties could buck the Communists without bucking the Two-Year Plan. That they cannot do, because it is obviously too moderate, popular and for the good of the whole country. Any party which came out against it would be voted under in the 1948 elections.

The plan does not aim at creating something new, but at restoring and improving something already in existence. Its target is rather startling: 110 percent of the level of 1937, in industry and agriculture, domestic consumption and surplus for export, which amounts to achieving in less than three years after liberation a higher level of prosperity than ever existed before.

Czechoslovak planning was the result of the fact that the Czechoslovaks decided realistically and hardheadedly to tackle in the most common-sense way a situation which had not been created by government planners, but by the Germans and the war. In the same common-sense way, about 30 percent of national production and business, including building, was allowed to continue as private enterprise, simply because it runs better that way.

IN the US we ask ourselves whether socialism (by which we usually mean Soviet communism) can exist peacefully side by side with free capitalist enterprise. The fact is that the world problem is not limited to the Soviet Union, representing *the* socialist or communist system, and the US, representing *the* system of free capitalist enterprise. There already exist in the world several different kinds of socialism or communism, and several different kinds of capitalist enterprise. In Czechoslovakia they exist side by side. You can actually find individuals who are still managing their own private enterprises, unmolested by the state, and at the same time acting as state-appointed trustees supervising the management of other enterprises which have been nationalized.

In Czechoslovakia the Communists are the largest, though not a majority, party, and have approximately 10 percent of the population enrolled. Yet Czechoslovakia is not "Communist" in her internal social and political characteristics. By such usual tests as free elections, a free press and the free circulation of foreign newspapers and books, it is one of the most democratic countries in the world.

At the same time, it is unmistakable that Czechoslovakia is a highly favored country in Soviet policy. Unlike Yugoslavia or Poland, Czechoslovakia is not struggling desperately to attain a minimum standard of living, or a bearable standard of living. On the contrary, she confidently hopes to reach; a year and a half from now, a higher standard of living than that which prevailed in the comparatively boom year of 1937. There is already plenty to eat. Clothing is not quite so satisfactory, but it is better than in most countries in Europe. There are lots of consumer goods, including luxuries and gadgets, in the shop windows. Everybody—the bureaucrats, the white-collar class and the factory workers—takes a comfortable summer holiday.

YET, on top of all these advantages, Czechoslovakia holds a more specific economic treaty with the Soviet Union than Poland does, and it runs for a longer period. Under this treaty the Soviet Union, for five years, will supply food and industrial raw materials which Czechoslovakia badly needs, and buy industrial products for which Czechoslovakia has to find an export market. Considering the shifting economic tides that trouble the world today, Czechoslovakia under this treaty holds the nearest thing possible to a fixed guarantee of full

*Owen Lattimore, professor of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, has written widely on the problems of American foreign policy. He is now in Central Europe.*

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## Renaissance

LONDON (ONA-*NR* correspondent). – Britain's number-one Fascist, Sir Oswald Mosley, retired from politics since the start of World War II, is interestedly watching the growth of large anti-Semitic demonstrations by avowed Fascists in London's East End. The government's refusal to break up the meetings, despite popular pressure, has encouraged Mosley to consider a return to public life.

The demonstrators have been gathering at Ridley Road and Bethnal Green to cheer speakers who propose to "smash the skulls of aliens and to scourge English Jews." Another favorite topic is the creation of a British-German-American entente to fight Russia in the "next war." The movement blossomed out early this summer in a burst of anti-Semitism pegged on the hanging of two British sergeants in Palestine by Jewish terrorists.

Britishers have been amazed that Home Secretary Chuter Ede has taken no steps to break up the meetings, which are flagrant incitements to racial hatred and violence. The demonstrators encourage their orators with shouts of "Hail Mosley!" "Perish Judah!" and carry placards with such legends as, "We are Fascists and proud of it." One reporter counted 10 "Hail Mosleys!" scrawled on East End walls during a few minutes' walk.

employment and full factory production for five years.

In the US, since the end of the war, our wiseacres have got in the habit of assuming that communism breeds most prolifically in an environment of chaos, hunger and despair. Therefore, the master-strand in the web of Soviet policy, and of Communist policy in all countries, must be to promote disruption, chaos, hunger and despair.

Czechoslovakia suggests an alternative theory. There is no doubt about the ascendancy of the Communists—ascendancy, not domination or dictatorship. Non-Communists and opponents of the Communists will tell you that while all parties agree to the Two-Year Plan, the Communists had the main hand in drafting it and are spark-plugging it in operation.

It may be that the Czechoslovak Communists, heartily backed by the Soviet Communists, are giving a thorough trial run to a policy of suggesting, to the nation's neighbors, that socialism and eventual communism can be reached by an easy transition, with prosperity all along the way and without massacre or coercion.

FROM the Baltic to the Balkans there is a belt of Slav peoples, looping around the non-Slav peoples of Austria, Hungary and Rumania. The trend of fashion in political thinking today is to assume that the lesser Slav peoples will soon be merged among the Soviet Slavs. Actually there are signs that the little Slavs will form first an association of their own and perhaps eventually a federation. In any such association, the significance of the westward spread of Soviet power would be less important than the permanent curtailment of the eastward spread of the Germans.

Throughout Eastern Europe, the feeling of "colonial" subordination is associated not with the Soviet Union today but with Germany yesterday—or tomorrow. The high industrialization of western Germany fed on the "colonial" exploitation of the raw materials and markets of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. German policy held back the industrialization of the entire Danube Valley.

POSTWAR Eastern Europe is a new chapter of the same book. The question is whether the new chapter is to repeat the last chapter or to lead to a new ending. That is why the prominence of the plan for the restoration of heavy industry for western Germany, in the US's approach to the problems of Western Europe, is so profoundly disturbing to Eastern Europe. The peoples of Eastern Europe, especially the non-Soviet Slavs, feel that this policy threatens to make Germany once more the Big Shot of Europe. It threatens to renew Germany's economic drive eastward, to feed the reviving Ruhr.

The Slavs outside of Russia are convinced that a policy of big shot against big shot is not sufficient to counter this danger. For them the primary question is not whether the Soviet Union will be strong enough to "contain" Germany, or Germany, backed by the US and Britain, strong enough to "contain" Russia. In order to survive, they are convinced that they must not only submit to being helped by the Soviet Union, but also organize to help themselves. A Slav association of the little shots is their answer to, or their contribution to, the power politics of the big shots.

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## News for Diabetics

ABOUT one million Americans suffer from diabetes, a disease caused primarily by failure of the body to manufacture a hormone called insulin. Insulin should be secreted by a part of the pancreas called the islands of Langerhans; when they fail to function, the body is unable to handle carbohydrates and excessive sugar gets into the blood. Until the early twenties, every severe case of diabetes was finally fatal; then Drs. F. G. Banting and C. H. Best succeeded in proving the association of insulin deficiency with diabetes and isolated the hormone in a form which could be injected into the body, thereby lengthening substantially the lives of many millions of diabetics all over the world.

But even with insulin, being a diabetic is no fun. While mild cases are controlled successfully by a rigid diet, high in protein and low in carbohydrates, severe cases require repeated insulin injections, sometimes as often as every six hours. Impairment of vision is a common complication; so are neuritis and psychological disturbances.

This week, at the meeting of the American Chemical Society in New York City, a new compound was announced which may be of value to diabetics if experiments with laboratory animals prove valid for human beings. Worked out by a group of experimenters at the Chicago Medical School, it combines hemin—a blood fraction—with ammonia, choline chloride and insulin. Allergic reaction seems to be diminished, and injections are required less frequently than with pure insulin.

The new development was hailed by the daily press with more excite-

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ment than seems justified. The press overlooked the fact that several other insulin compounds have been developed in recent years and are in use with human patients—compounds which achieve most or all of the things claimed for the new mixture. More important is work that is being done to find the cause of diabetes, which may be associated with dietary deficiencies. The disease can be produced artificially in laboratory animals with massive doses of alloxan, a derivative from uric acid, a fact which suggests it may result from an imbalance in the work of those three often linked agents, the hormones, enzymes and vitamins.

## Too Little Too Late

ALLENTOWN, PA. (*NR* correspondent).—The Republicans are finding great comfort in the results of the election in the Eighth Pennsylvania Congressional District to fill the seat of the late Charles L. Gerlach, Republican reëlected in 1946. The result was a clear-cut victory for Franklin H. Lichtenwalter, speaker of the Pennsylvania house, over Phil Storch, a young Marine veteran, and writer for the Allentown *Call*, who had never been in politics before. But the simple figures do not justify the GOP huzzahs: there were 121,000 registered voters, split 60 percent Republican and 40 percent Democrat. Of the 78,000 who voted, 60 percent supported Lichtenwalter; 40 percent, Storch.

The lesson for the liberal forces of the Democratic Party and the CIO-PAC was that if they are to make real inroads on such wealthy, entrenched political machines as the Grundy one in Pennsylvania, they will have to start before registration time and ring more doorbells. Storch's supporters found that at least a third of the potential voters in the industrial districts of Allentown had failed to register. No such dereliction had been permitted in the GOP-organized, rural Bucks County.

The Democratic-Labor forces did not really get going until about a week before registration time. Even so, in industrial parts of Allentown where door-to-door canvassing was done, Storch carried seven out of eight wards. They never got going at all in Bethlehem and Bristol, where there are also working-class districts.

## Washington Runaround

HENRY KAISER had a strange week in Washington. He began it with a press conference at which he announced that he would be satisfied if the Reconstruction Finance Corporation would give him a $34.5 million adjustment on the debt he owed them on his war-built, overpriced Fontana steel plant in California. Originally he had asked that his debt be scaled down by $85 million, and pointed out that even so he would be getting no better deal than Big Steeel got on its purchase of the government-owned Geneva plant.

The Washington-wise thought Kaiser was a little naïve in hoping that the RFC would find his offer a bargain and act accordingly. They thought that if the RFC were going to scale down his debt so that the West Coast might get a better deal on steel prices, it would do it because the pressure from the West was sufficient to make them do it, and bargain-hunting would have little effect on its decision.

Instead of calling at the White House, where some pressure might be generated on the RFC, Kaiser sailed instead before the House committee investigating war contracts. An International News Service dispatch had quoted Representative Robert F. Rich (R, Pa.) as intending to raise some question about Kaiser's proposition to get the loan scaled down. But when Kaiser appeared to demand, in effect, that Rich hear him or cease and desist making statements calculated to intimidate the RFC, Rich protested, successfully, against Kaiser being heard.

Appearing as a spectator before Senator Edward Martin's (R, Pa.) Small Business Subcommittee, Kaiser heard the chairman speak with great solemnity about the "alarming" effect of inflated prices and the consequent general maldistribution of steel, of saving "the American way" for the "little businessman."

And when the hearings were adjourned, Senator Martin sought out the man who has been saying the same things and proposing to do something about them.

The Senator had apparently forgot to say anything to Kaiser about testifying before his committee. But the Senator did shake Kaiser's hand, and that's about all Kaiser got for his frenetic work in Washington.

## Kim's Publicity Stunt

DETROIT (*NR* correspondent.)—The Callahan Act, Michigan's thought-control law, which makes it a crime to advocate any policy that might benefit a foreign power, is just a publicity gag in the opinion of state attorney general Eugene F. Black.

Black, a member of the official family of Republican Governor Kim Sigler who backed the legislation, says, "As far as I'm concerned, the enforcement of this Act is a matter for the next legislature and the next attorney general in 1949." As yet, not a single individual has registered with the attorney general as a "foreign agent"—defined in the Act as any person or group serving directly or indirectly the purposes, aims or objects of a foreign power.

Lawyers for the Committee to Repeal the Callahan Act, which has collected 31,000 signatures on its petitions, feel that strict enforcement of the law could mean prosecution of persons favoring another loan to Britain and of travel agencies who urge tourists to spend money abroad.

## The Poor Face

BECAUSE the nation's railroads want to raise their freight and passenger rates, their lawyers have been trying to convince the Interstate Commerce Commission that the roads are tottering on the edge of financial ruin. Consequently, in hearings before the ICC, the attorneys have carefully avoided references to these basic facts on the industry's position: ¶ In 1939 the railroads' assets totaled $1,293 million; liabilities, $2,556 million. In 1945 assets had soared to

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$4,346 million, while liabilities had dropped to $2,108 million.

¶ One big rate-rise argument —that the roads need added revenue to provide the six-percent return on rail securities which they claim is necessary to attract public funds to the industry—is not substantiated by the record. Since 1922 the American public has invested generously in the railroads for consistently lower returns.

So far the ICC has stood fast against freight-rate rises, turning down a rush-order plea for a 10-percent hike. But now the roads are preparing a request for a 27-percent boost. And already the ICC has weakened on passenger fares by granting increases which will cost commuters on 13 Eastern railroads an additional $9 million next year.

*"The dollar being what it is, you were worth more when I married you."*

## The Politics of Food

WHILE European statesmen are wrangling in Paris about who should have how much of prospective US grain exports, a no less heated argument is going on in Washington over who should handle the doling out on this end, and how. All contestants for the role of Lady Bountiful agree on one thing: with the US surplus smaller than last year, and the world need greater, every ounce of political as well as caloric content will be squeezed out of our food exports.

In simplest terms the problem is this: for the world to eat as it did last year the US would have to supply 19 million tons of food, mostly grains.

Two months ago Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P. Anderson thought we might have 15 million tons to export. Today officials privately guess it will not run much beyond 10 million. Lack of rain has cut the US corn crop a fourth (roughly one billion bushels); and minor grain crops are off too. The wheat crop is 250 million bushels larger than last year, but a large amount will be used for feed to replace the lost corn.

The high tension generated by these facts bids fair to swamp the impartial allotment program of the International Emergency Food Council. It also tempts various groups in Washington to use US food as an instrument of their interpretation of national policy to an extent which will make Herbert Hoover's efforts after the last war seem benign.

Here is the Washington line-up: Secretary of Commerce Averell Harriman is theoretically the boss of the US food-export program. In its closing days Congress extended the Second War Powers Act, placing final controls, including those previously held by the Department of Agriculture and the Foreign Economic Administration, in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce. The State Department and others can make recommendations, but Harriman has the final say. Harriman has asked Secretary Anderson to remain as chief of the food-allocations board, but he is expected to take actual direction soon. The soft-hearted Anderson cannot be trusted to sit firmly on the lid of the US grain bin when politically impotent nations such as India come seeking aid. Harriman isn't stirred by any such humanitarian nonsense.

The pleas to which Harriman will listen most attentively are those of the Army and the State Department. The Army wants to boost food allocations to Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan and Korea. It would send 5.3 million tons to Germany, 700,000 tons more than last year to Japan and Korea, and 400,000 tons more to Austria. If the generals had their way, this would use up most of our available 10 million tons. But State must have food to back up its political programs in the Mediterranean, Europe and Latin America.

There are two remaining questions puzzling the food thinkers in Washington: how to cut US consumption; and how to enable foreign countries to pay for the food they must have soon without getting more money from Congress.

Neither the Department of Agriculture nor anyone else has the power to impose any domestic restrictions; only Congress can do that. The grain supply available for export would be substantially increased if the US could be induced to use less white flour in bread, less wheat for feed and less grains for whiskey and beer.

There are those who hope the House committee headed by Christian A. Herter (R, Mass.), a serious group which has been seeing European hunger at first hand this summer, may be able to swing Congress to some sort of US food-conservation program. But State is skeptical, and has been trying to persuade Chester C. Davis, president of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank and a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, to revive the Famine Emergency Committee which conducted a voluntary rationing campaign during the war. Davis doesn't think it will work, and is urging government controls.

The ever vexatious problem of mechanics of payment is acute. England has had to cancel an October

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order for 2.6 million bushels of wheat and flour for lack of dollars, and France and Italy are shaking the last greenbacks out of their jeans.

But the Administration thinks it has found a way out. By stretching its original charter, the Commodity Credit Corporation could buy food for Europe with its $400-$500 million cash assets. In theory, it might even use its $4,750 million borrowing power from the RFC.

The State and Agriculture Departments think they might get away with this procedure. Secretary Anderson is said to regard the job of administering this great largess as a possible fillip to his vice-presidential aspirations. But it can't be done without an order from the President, who must calculate the political risk involved.

# And If Cripps's Plea Fails?

## by Arthur Hepner

LONDON (by wireless).—Awkwardly but surely, the British government appears at last to be showing some signs of ability to stem the tide of increasing economic difficulties. Though it's too soon for a final judgment of Sir Stafford Cripps's attack on the problem, most Britishers see it as the most forthright approach made by a government official since the crisis developed.

Unfortunately, the Labor Government's grand long-range strategy which Cripps unfolded didn't provide what is urgently needed—an immediate, detailed campaign plan. So the British were left without what they most want—knowledge of how much sacrifice they must make, when, and of what kind.

THE morning after Cripps's radio talk, housewives staged a run on shops selling pans, crockery and other home furnishings, clearing the shelves of all available ration-free consumer goods. The reason was Cripps's remark that there would be less goods for home use because industry would have to concentrate on meeting increased export goals. Only what is left after export requirements are met would be released for the home market, he said.

It would have been more sensible for Cripps to have coupled this announcement with the freezing of all ration-free articles and the reinstitution of a rationing system for them. For the hard fact is that the present economic crisis has many of the aspects of war. Widespread rationing is imperative, so are greater rationalization of productive forces, tight controls on materials and on production programs.

The Trades Union Congress at its recent conference in Southport agreed to a limited degree of official direction of labor, and the government is reintroducing a form of modified labor control next month. But neither of these measures will funnel workers into industries where added manpower is needed to satisfy expanded export quotas. Nor will either round up the "spivs"—the men who live by their wits instead of working—and place them in productive enterprises.

Cripps warned of official toughness if private industry would not do the job. But for the present there's no prospect of compulsion. Left-wingers consider this a capitulation to private enterprise as represented by the Federation of British Industries, and they don't like it.

ACTUALLY, after Cripps's pronouncement all Britain knows the government hopes to overcome the crisis by reducing imports and capital expenditures, and by increasing exports by the end of 1948 up to 60 percent over 1938, the best prewar year. This means bringing them about one-third above present levels.

So long as the government holds off imposition of all-out controls, many questions arise. For instance, suppose an essential industry makes an unreasonable demand as its price for compliance with the over-all program? Suppose it's an industry such as steel or automobiles, and the whole industry gangs up? The government wouldn't be able to divert allocation of raw materials elsewhere, because no other industries could manufacture such commodities.

What about wildcat strikes such as the one in Yorkshire which cost a half-million tons of vital coal? The government can't mine coal. These considerations must be borne in mind.

What these questions mean is that success of the Cripps program depends on the good will of management, labor and consumers at a time when the situation is too critical for dependence on voluntary compliance.

*Arthur Hepner is CBS correspondent in London.*

## Substitute Therapy

THE Berlin daily *Der Morgen* reports on new methods being used to inform German youth of the dangers of venereal infection. One innovation, of which much is expected, is public lectures on VD—the unpleasant little facts being presented between renditions of classical music.

## Solidarity

IN Toronto, Ontario ("Toronto the Good"), anti-Communist city councilmen have failed to put the *Daily Tribune*, a progressive-labor tabloid, out of business. The attempt to muzzle the *Tribune* began when Controller David Balfour said that the paper should not be allowed to set up street vending boxes on Toronto's sidewalks, as is done by Toronto's three other dailies. Promptly, the Board of Control solemnly resolved that no newspaper with a circulation of less than 150,000 could set up street boxes—circulation of other Toronto papers being above that figure and the *Tribune's* far below it. The law had scarcely been passed before the three major Toronto newspapers screamed "Censorship!" Last week the Board of Control hurriedly reconvened, rescinded its ordinance.

## Worries of Empire

THE United States, Britain and France, among others, are still "imperial" powers in the technical sense that they administer certain territories on a purely colonial basis. But there now exists in the world an international body to examine their stewardship and see to it that the

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interests of the colonial peoples are put before those of their masters.

The group which does this is a 16-nation *ad-hoc* committee established by the UN General Assembly. It held its first meeting on August 28 at Lake Success, and the imperial powers heard some unaccustomed back talk on behalf of their wards. P. P. Pillai of India implied that the big powers oppose a logical progression toward independence of their colonies. Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippine Republic urged the inclusion of political, as well as social and economic, information in the reports which the big powers must submit to the UN. J. M. Lomakin of the USSR charged that the US provided insufficient medical care in Puerto Rico, and said the colonial powers do not place the interest of the natives first, and never will.

The committee was discussing a US draft on the nature of information to be obtained from the colonies. In general, the eight colonial powers on the committee did little to dispel Lomakin's doubts. Led by the US and the UK, the committee fought to preserve the rights rather than the duties of colonial powers. But it did accept a standard form which, while not complete, will give the UN information on population, government, labor practices, medical and educational facilities in non-self-governing territories. In the end, even Lomakin's censure of the information already submitted was accepted in a modified form. He had termed that information "incomplete, inaccurate and . . . not satisfactory. . . ." The committee merely acknowledged that it did not give "a clear picture of the living conditions of people in non-self-governing territories."

## Belated Thanks

By an oversight, the *New Republic* last week neglected to give credit to *Our World* for permission to print Langston Hughes's poem "Freedom Train." The poem first appeared in *Our World*, and its editors have waived their copyright privileges so that it might be widely reprinted.

# Checklist of What UN Can Do

by Jane Bedell

THE United Nations is a little more than two years old, and if it is not thriving, it is at least living. The question is for how long. The current session of the General Assembly won't answer that question, but it may indicate the areas in which the UN can operate effectively in the near future. The problems facing this Assembly can be divided, roughly, into two groups: the practical problems which the UN can decide now, and the political problems which must be debated but cannot be solved within the United Nations as long as national sovereignty is more important than international sovereignty. From this point of view Palestine becomes by all odds the most important question on the Assembly agenda. Here, where there is a large area of working agreement, the Assembly can take definite action. If it does, the session can be considered a success.

Again, the financial problems facing the Assembly go to the working core of the UN: can the member nations afford to contribute to a world organization, and do they consider it important enough to assure success on a technical level? The political problems—Greece, Spain, discrimination in South Africa, the veto—are questions on which the Assembly can do no more than take a strong stand. Here, roughly, are the topics which the *New Republic* considers most controversial. These are the issues, their background and their probable development during the General Assembly.

PALESTINE: Although the words "oil" and "strategy" probably won't be used during the Assembly debate on Palestine, keep them in mind. They will color the arguments. But despite economic and military interests in Palestine, there is general eagerness for a settlement. The Jews will accept the Assembly's recommendations; the Arabs won't. The solution, therefore, must be based on the Assembly's willingness to enforce its own recommendations.

Last spring the special Assembly, called at the request of the United Kingdom, established an investigating committee which has now submitted alternative proposals for Palestine's future. The majority proposes a partition plan coupled with economic unity. The minority advocates Jewish and Arab autonomy within a federal government. Both recommend that the British mandate over Palestine be terminated as soon as possible.

The Palestine question will be argued from this report, which will go to a special Assembly committee composed of delegates from all member nations. The committee will alter the recommendations on the basis of committee discussion and testimony from the Jews—represented by the Jewish Agency, which favors partition—and from the Arabs—represented by the Arab Higher Committee and the Arab members of the UN, both of whom oppose partition and federalization.

OF the three big powers involved, Russia is already on record as favoring federalization, though willing to accept partition should a combined Jewish-Arab state prove unworkable. The majority in the Assembly will probably favor partition on grounds of greater workability, and Russia is expected to go along with the majority. Britain is willing to accept a majority decision too, but she wants a guarantee that it will be enforced by American money and probably by American military aid. British strategy is to obtain an American commitment in behind-the-scenes negotiations and vote with the majority during meetings. The real crux of the solution is the position of the US delegation. At worst the US will abstain on the final vote, leaving very little hope for imposing a General Assembly recommendation on a recalcitrant Arab population. At best the

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US will vote with the majority and lead the fight to enforce the Assembly's recommendations.

GREECE: The US delegation to the United Nations has proposed a discussion of "threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece," an item which may cause more trouble than anything else on the Assembly agenda. The Greek question first came up in February, 1946, when the USSR urged the withdrawal of British troops from Greece. No action was taken at that time. Six months later the Ukraine complained that Greece was threatening peace in the Balkans because of her reactionary government, maintained by British troops.

The Council wanted to set up an investigating commission at that time, but Russia vetoed the move. Greece herself raised the question the third time, charging Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia with supporting guerrilla warfare on the northern Greek border. The Council unanimously agreed to send a commission to investigate the trouble; it left last January. The Balkan Commission held hearings throughout the trouble area and returned with a report which supported the Greek charges. It left a subsidiary group in Salonika to continue investigations. In the meantime the US had acted unilaterally in sending economic and military aid to Greece under the Truman Doctrine.

On the basis of the Balkan Commission's report, Warren R. Austin of the US proposed that a long-term border patrol be established to prevent further friction, and that Greece's northern neighbors mend their ways. Andrei Gromyko of the USSR proposed, instead, that solution be left to the states concerned and that US military aid granted under the Truman Doctrine be withdrawn. Gromyko vetoed the US proposal and his own resolution lost by a vote of nine to two. The US then proposed an even stronger resolution charging Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia with threatening the peace under Chapter VII of the Charter. Gromyko vetoed this resolution and the Council was deadlocked.

Greece is now on the agenda of both the Security Council and the Assembly. The Assembly may discuss Greece, but it can recommend no action until the Security Council releases the question from its agenda. But as soon as Greece is dropped from the agenda, the subsidiary group of the Balkan Commission goes out of existence. The US wants this group to continue its work.

US tactics are to keep the item on the Council agenda as long as possible, releasing it only after the US delegation is certain it can muster the required two-thirds vote for an Assembly resolution. Of the 11 Council members, nine favor the permanent border patrol which would be the core of the US-sponsored Assembly resolution. Even with 55 Assembly members, the US can probably win a large vote without much trouble.

The advantage of an Assembly resolution is its majority sponsorship. The Security Council members who favor a permanent border commission could then argue that they have received a mandate from the Assembly to establish a commission with or without Russia. Although the US Assembly resolution would represent a retreat from the US position taken under Chapter VII in the Council, it is an intent to establish a commission at all costs. For this reason many delegates feel that the debate can only worsen relations between the USSR and the US. Others, however, feel that the debate may be broadened into a frank discussion of USSR and US foreign policies. At least everyone would then know where the two powers stand.

SPAIN: Before the United Nations even became a functioning organization, Spain was considered a dangerous and unfriendly country. At last year's General Assembly, Norway, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Venezuela, Guatemala and France were anxious for strong political and economic action against Franco, but the US and the UK forced a much weaker resolution on the Assembly. There were two concrete proposals in the resolution: one called on member nations to withdraw their ambassadors or ministers plenipotentiary from Madrid; the other asked the Security Council to look into the situation if the Spanish government hadn't changed "within a reasonable time."

Four countries—the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Turkey and El Salvador—withdrew ministers. Eighteen states, including the US, had neither an ambassador nor a minister in Madrid. Thirty states, including the USSR, did not at that time recognize the Franco government—and still do not. The Dominican Republic has done nothing to comply with the resolution, while Argentina, leader of the pro-Franco faction, sent an ambassador to Madrid in defiance of the Assembly.

The second clause died under the weight of more pressing Security Council matters. Venezuela and Uruguay tried earlier this summer to have the Council define "a reasonable time."

They were told that it would be better to let the thing ride until the Assembly opened. Any action taken at this session is likely to be even weaker than that taken at the last session, partly because public indignation concerning Franco Spain seems to have subsided, partly because the United States seems inclined to strengthen and protect any government which opposes communism. The most the Assembly will do is define "a reasonable time" or ask the Security Council to do so.

VETO: The question of the veto in the Security Council is one which comes up periodically and will continue to do so. It is a noisy but unproductive issue.

During this Assembly session the veto will arise in connection with Greece, with new members, in reviewing the resolution passed last year on the veto and in connection with the Argentine proposal to amend the Charter. The Argentine proposal is the most dramatic. It suggests that a conference be called not later than three days after the close of the Assembly. This conference would attempt to abolish the privilege of the veto which was established at the San Francisco Conference. It is doubtful whether Argentina can muster the two-thirds

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vote of the Assembly necessary to convoke the conference. Even if this is achieved, there is no possibility of amending the Charter. The United States flatly opposes such a move; so does Russia. France, Britain and China are not enthusiastic at this time. Since any Charter amendment must be ratified by all permanent members of the Security Council in order to become effective, the proposal is doomed. The Argentine delegation knows this, but argues that unless the question is discussed again and again the situation in the Security Council will deteriorate until it destroys the UN. Dr. Jose Arce of Argentina has indicated possible alternatives should the UN fail to amend its Charter. The most drastic

of these is resignation from the UN by a group of Western states and the formation of a new world organization, without Russia. Even Arce admits this is an idle threat now, purely a propaganda device.

Australia has asked the Assembly to consider what has been done to carry out last year's resolution requesting permanent members of the Security Council not to use the veto to "impede the Security Council in reaching decisions promptly." This somewhat confusing resolution was a compromise. But this year there are more members who would be willing to support a stronger censure of the USSR, and it is possible that such a recommendation can win approval.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA: Last year India complained to the General Assembly that the Union of South Africa was violating a non-discriminatory agreement signed between the two governments, and was denying an Indian minority its basic human rights. Indians in South Africa were segregated in trade and in residence, India charged. South Africa denied the accusations and then, curiously, insisted that it was purely a domestic matter. The Assembly, by a bare two-thirds majority, requested that the treatment of Indians in South Africa be brought into conformity with the UN Charter.

Now India claims that South Africa ignored the Assembly and intensified discriminatory practices. South Africa, dropping the denial, reiterates her belief that the situation is a domestic one. India wants the Assembly to pass an even stronger resolution this time,

but although there will be a bitter fight, the chances of such action are slim. The UN's right to tackle such problems will be questioned again; there will be a renewed attempt to send the case to the International Court for clarification.

FINANCE: Financial questions are generally considered "non-controversial." Unfortunately, this is not true for the Assembly this year. There are three important items on the agenda involving finance: the new headquarters, the general budget of the UN and relief for devastated countries.

According to present plans, the members of the General Assembly will be asked to approve a request for $65 million for the new headquarters. It is estimated that this amount (which is a drastic reduction from the $85 million estimate originally made) could be pared to about $50 million. The chief problem during the Assembly will be how to finance the construction. There will be arguments for and against loans from private sources, loans from the US Government, scaled contributions from member nations, loans from the Monetary Fund. The suggestion most likely to be accepted would involve a loan from the US Government plus scaled contributions from member nations, with the US paying a large amount as the host country. Final costs will be established according to the financing scheme adopted.

The general budget which finances the day-to-day work of the UN Secretariat has already come in for some heavy criticism from the UN advisory committee on administrative and budgetary questions. The committee is composed of financial experts who have advocated a cut of more than $4 million in the $39 million budget proposed by Secretary-General Trygve Lie. The committee suggested drastic cuts in departmental budgets and urged that travel expenses be curtailed and that staff members be given efficiency tests. The committee argues that the Secretariat is loose, inefficient and extravagant. The budget fight is one between the Secretariat—the technical heart of the UN—and the member nations, which are desperately short of dollars.

Lie will be squarely in the middle. His answer to critics of the Secretariat will be that the UN needs more money, not less, for an efficient Secretariat. It needs money to bring in good men. For instance, the British were asked to find an Assistant Secretary-General in Charge of Economic Affairs. Candidates were so scarce that they had to transfer a man into that job from another important UN post; it took the Americans months to produce a competent man to handle administrative affairs. The trouble is not only low salaries, but also that member governments don't consider the UN important enough. This is felt in the lower-paying jobs as well. Of all the countries approached to fill key posts two years ago, only Russia at once sent a first-rate man, Arkady Sobolev, Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Security Council Affairs.

Lie can also point out that the advisory committee is composed of financial experts who, in the interests of economy, ignore the personnel and organizational problems of a new body and fail to take into account the ne-

cessity for wide geographical distribution within the Secretariat. No matter how hard Lie works to convince member governments of their responsibility in solving these problems, the answer will probably come in the form of a slash in the budget.

Appropriations for post-UNRRA relief will suffer as a result of these more pressing financial problems. There will be plenty of debate about aid to devastated countries, but many delegations feel that this is the time to discuss the Marshall Plan; to find out when and how it will go into effect; to adopt a wait-and-see policy as far as extensive aid to Europe through the UN is concerned. It will be a cold winter.

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# Henry Wallace

## Back Home in Iowa

AFTER the Labor Day meeting in Detroit, I visited Iowa in early September. Iowa farmers in 1947 will sell about $2 billion worth of farm products. No such large group of farmers anywhere or at any time have been so prosperous. Labor, feed, machinery and fertilizer costs have gone up enormously and the livestock farmer who feeds more corn than he grows is feeling the pinch of high feed costs, but the average Iowa farmer has more money than he ever hoped to see. He has used his money to buy war bonds, build up his bank deposit and improve the house for his wife. He has tried to buy farm machinery and an automobile and has found himself forced to pay black-market prices for scarcity items. On the whole, he has handled his amazing prosperity better than in 1920.

Red-baiting is taken as a matter of course in prosperous Iowa. Practically everybody hates Russia and communism and knows nothing about either. The same situation existed in the early twenties, when Smith Brookhart became Senator and shocked all respectable Iowans by defending Russia. At that time, one of our reserve Army officers, who had served in Military Intelligence, claimed there was going to be a bolshevik revolution in Iowa and that the best citizens should store rifles and machine guns away in their attics to put down the uprising when it came.

I mention this to indicate that when respectable citizens, either in their hysteria or for political reasons, raise false fears, the final result is to open the way to depression and war.

But Iowa farmers have a dark foreboding that the present situation will soon come to an end. A group of Iowa farmers is now in Europe, trying to form an idea of how long the foreign demand will continue. These men know that unless there is inflation, or a very large appropriation by Congress to carry out the Marshall Plan, the Iowa farmer will start the long slide downward in 1948. They know what happened when foreign demand fell off in 1921.

Farm costs will undoubtedly outrun farm profits in another year or two. Local taxes and freight rates will go up at the very moment farm product prices go down. In the twinkling of an eye the short-lived farm prosperity will vanish, and I am afraid that not until then will farmers begin to think in terms of effective political action.

I went around with my son to see an Iowa poultry farm, where they were bringing in off the range some cross-bred chickens hatched from eggs produced at my Farvue Farm last February. The boys were using a device in which the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice should be interested. It is an electric debeaker. Each pullet, as it is put into the laying house, has about a quarter of an inch cut off the upper beak and the end cauterized by a hot electric plate. This preserves the free enterprise of the hens, but prevents them from picking each other or wasting food.

Then I went with Edgar Anderson, botanist at Washington University at St. Louis, to look at some of our corn-breeding plots. Anderson can tell the shape of an ear of corn by looking at the tassel. I wish we could get a political botanist who could tell how a candidate will vote by looking at the shape of his head. Anderson was much interested in a small bottom field of the most disreputable corn I ever saw in Iowa. The corn in this field was a mixture of late corn from Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Texas and Louisiana, together with sweet corn, teosinte, popcorn, purple corn, brown corn, flour corn and early corn from Minnesota, New York State and Canada. Never, I think, has there been such a hodgepodge. The reason I had advocated making the mixture was that I had seen our hybrid corn from the corn belt fail miserably under tropical conditions.

ANDERSON, using the language of the professional geneticist, said it will take a number of years before some of the "linkages" are broken and the mixture is complete. It is amazing how much like the US is my "hodgepodge" cornfield. In both cases the mixtures are not yet complete because ancient "linkages" are still standing in the way. In both cases valuable contributions will come from many sources. It will be many years before the US and my corn mixture will make their maximum contribution. Competition will result in combinations containing superior qualities.

I approve of competition if it is not of a destructive sort, like the instinct which causes chickens to pick on each other. Perhaps the general welfare should be served by debeaking our predatory businessmen. We must find some way to prevent big business from committing either cannibalism or suicide in the years immediately ahead.

H. W.

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# Men Around Marshall

by William Walton

*Most of the planners who set US foreign policy today are Wall Street financiers and their fellow travelers*

WHEN General George C. Marshall became Secretary of State eight months ago he occupied such a pinnacle of public esteem that the only misgiving, a faint whisper of doubt, was over abandonment of the old American tradition that foreign affairs should be guided by civilian hands. The reservation has grown in the minds of many who have watched the General's course in ensuing months. But not precisely for the reasons anticipated. Not precisely because George Marshall is a military man.

Traces of militarism naturally have been detected in Marshall's administration, but they have been entirely subordinate to the more potent and expansive influence of the investment bankers of Wall Street. As Marshall has guided the US into a course of opposing Russian power with an exhibition of even greater American power, and then groped further for the means of taking leadership in the reconstruction of Western Europe, the motivations of US policy gradually have become clearer.

One of the most disturbing facts about Marshall's regime is that during it the investment bankers, who already dominate the rest of the Truman Administration, have been able to move into the State Department, whose policy-formulating powers are a rich prize. Already the Wall Street influence has become obvious in the struggle over Ruhr coal production, in discussions of German industrial revival and in negotiations over Britain's economic difficulties. How Marshall has played a part in this Wall Street infiltration can be seen from his major appointments.

Like most new brooms, General Marshall has done some vigorous sweeping in the sometimes musty purlieus of the State Department, where two short-term tenants—James F. Byrnes and Ed Stettinius—had accomplished few changes since Cordell Hull's record-breaking occupancy of 11 years and eight months. In the process these top-level appointments have been made:

¶ Robert A. Lovett, partner in the Brown Brothers, Harriman banking firm, as Undersecretary of State;

¶ Charles Saltzman, former vice-president of the New York Stock Exchange and wartime brigadier general, as Assistant Secretary in Charge of Occupied Territories;

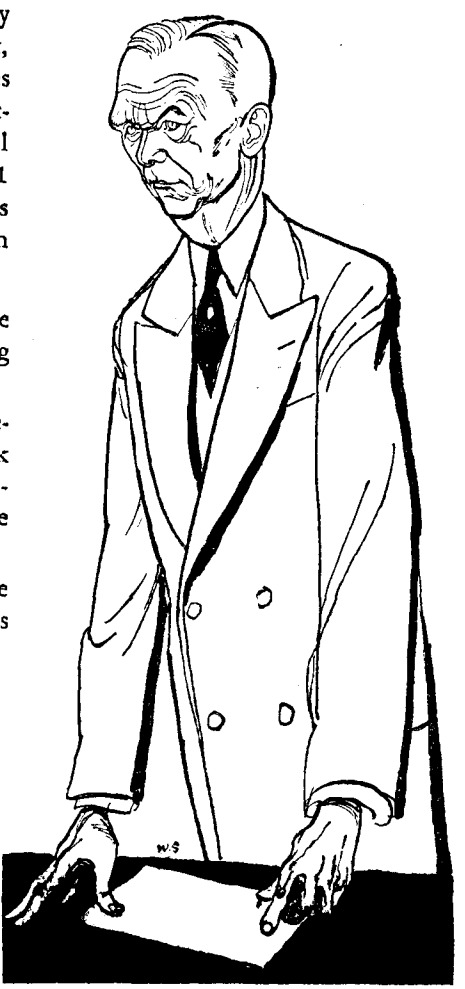
¶ Lewis Douglas, chairman of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, as Ambassador to London.

These appointments would have had less significance if they had not been, in effect, the capstone of the impressive edifice which the bankers and brokers have erected in Washington on the ruins of the Roosevelt New Deal. The new appointees join a small handful of men who are the actual framers of US policy, both at home and abroad, the men who speak the language of power with the authority of position. Most of them were in Roosevelt's government too, but in those far-off days they were secondary to a man of intellectual stature, political wisdom and high principle. When FDR died they were nearby, ready to flow into the vacuum created by President Truman's inability to furnish the farsighted leadership required of a modern-day President. These wielders of power, in addition to Marshall, include:

¶ Defense Secretary James V. Forrestal, head of the Wall Street banking firm of Dillon, Read;

¶ Commerce Secretary W. Averell Harriman, partner in Brown Brothers, Harriman;

¶ Treasury Secretary John Snyder, whose St. Louis banking career brought him logically and worshipfully into the Wall Street circle;



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¶ Admiral William D. Leahy, the ex-Ambassador to Vichy France and President Truman's chief of staff;

¶ General Lucius D. Clay, head of the US occupation of Germany;

¶ Clay's ex-deputy, Major General William H. Draper, a former Dillon, Read executive recently appointed Undersecretary of the Army.

*Movers and shakers*

IN the Truman Administration, which must decide matters affecting the destinies of millions around the world, these men are the movers and shakers, the men who decided to get tough with Russia, to rebuild German industry and to discourage Britain from her faltering steps toward socialization. Including Draper as both a general and a financial executive, the score stands: four generals, one admiral, two men from Dillon, Read, two from Brown Brothers, Harriman, one insurance-company executive and one Midwestern banker. The partnership of Wall Street and the military has become a very closely knit one whose character has been revealed by its policy.

The business affiliations of this small coterie are not, however, a true measure of Wall Street's infiltration into the Truman Administration, because, with each new appointment at the top, a swarm of underlings comes along with the new man to occupy jobs beneath him and see that his orders are put into effect. In Harriman's Commerce Department, for example, an almost clean sweep has been made of the counselors, division chiefs and specialists from the FDR days.

In the Treasury, Snyder has been carefully and ruthlessly weeding out anyone suspected of loyalty to Henry Morgenthau, and he has also kept a guiding hand on allied financial institutions such as the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank. Both are vital instruments to foreign policy and are headed by executives in the increasingly familiar pattern. The chairman of the board of the Export-Import Bank is William McChesney Martin Jr., once the boy president of the New York Stock Exchange. The World Bank chief is John J. McCloy, a Wall Street lawyer.

Most of these men around Marshall were already fixed points of power when he took office last January after unsuccessfully mediating the Chinese civil war. Harriman, Forrestal and Robert Patterson, then Secretary of War, urged Marshall's appointment on Truman, who needed little urging, and all were delighted when the General finally was convinced that the continuing postwar crisis required him to take the job, despite his soldier's deep distaste for politicians. In cabinet meetings Harriman, Forrestal and Snyder always show Marshall marked deference, considering him a man of great integrity and some ideas. The President's respect is even more marked, amounting to boyish idol-worship which has given rise to a Washington saying that "Truman looks up to Marshall, Marshall looks up to Stimson, and Stimson looks up only to William Howard Taft."

The saying, like others of its kind, is more an indication of Washington's state of mind than an accurate index of the Secretary of State, who does, however, have Stimson's portrait hanging in his shiny new office on Virginia Avenue, in the handsome, air-conditioned building which State has taken over from the Army.

The deference shown Marshall is interesting, however, as a revelation of the part he plays in the Administration. Forrestal, Harriman and Snyder are well aware that Marshall's national prestige is invaluable to them in carrying out their chosen policies, which basically are the containment of Russia and the rebuilding of Germany. Truman knows himself to have been lucky to obtain the services of this great soldier who gives the Administration a stature it would never have achieved otherwise.

*Rearranged second rank*

WHILE these top-echelon policy-makers were more or less fixed points, Marshall has had a free hand on lower levels and gradually has replaced or rearranged most of the

LEWIS DOUGLAS

CHARLES SALTZMAN

ROBERT A. LOVETT

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second rank of men around him, the men who fill in the details of policy and direct its operation. In addition to Lovett and Saltzman, his principal appointees have been Norman Armour, Charles "Chip" Bohlen and George F. Kennan. Gone are many familiar faces such as Dean Acheson, the experienced diplomat who was replaced as Undersecretary by Lovett. Gone is Ben Cohen, who began his government career as an early New Dealer and ended it as counselor of the State Department; his successor is Bohlen. Spruille Braden, who battled valiantly against Peron and his Argentine fascism, was supplanted by Armour.

*Pet secretarial project*

ONE of the considerations uppermost in the mind of Marshall, and thus also of Truman, in ditching Braden and his anti-appeasement policy, was Marshall's pet project of arms unification for Latin America. As a soldier, Marshall sees the tremendous advantages that would accrue to the US if the guns, planes and ammunition of all countries below the Rio Grande were the same as ours. Not only would our manufacturers have a superb market for their products, but in the event of another war, the Latin American armies could be coördinated quickly into ours. Marshall is too wise a strategist to contemplate seriously the probability of an overseas invasion of the Latin American world, but he can see the advantage of an additional reservoir of trained, armed soldiers attached, if only loosely, to US forces. The Rio treaty is the first step in his program, and in order to buy Argentine coöperation, necessary for the unanimity on which Marshall puts a high premium, Braden had to bite the dust.

One interesting aspect of the appointment of Braden's successor, Armour, is that the man follows the policy instead of a new policy following a new appointee. That was the method used in two other important appointments, those of Bohlen and Kennan.

As soon as these two comparatively young men—Bohlen is 42 and Kennan 43—were given new jobs, the press broke out with a rash of starry-eyed stories about Marshall giving the State Department an injection of youthful ideas; the press assumed that these two were the prodigious brains behind the get-tough-with-Russia policy. Actually, the policy was evolved on the level higher than Kennan and Bohlen, though of course they did participate in many departmental committee conferences which contributed advice and recommendations to the effect that the hard core of policy was too conciliatory and the only language the Russians understood was that of force.

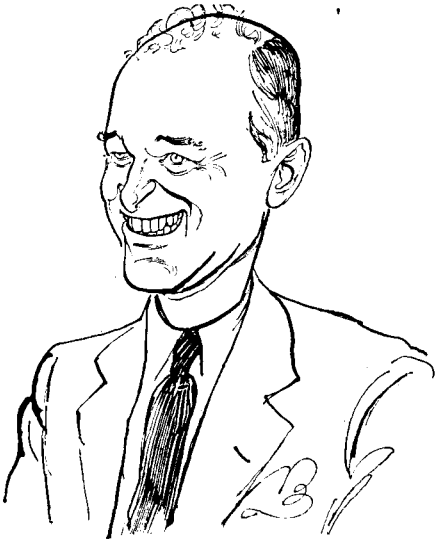
The new policy made its first full-dress appearance at the Foreign Ministers' meeting in New York's Waldorf-Astoria last December, even though Byrnes, who put it into practice, already had handed in his resignation. When Marshall took office and looked around for new staff officers, Bohlen and Kennan were obvious choices. Both had served in Russia and both were Russophobes who, in departmental councils, had advocated the tough policy which flowered into the Truman Doctrine.

*Intellectual impressionism*

IMPRESSED with the intellectuality of the memoranda that Kennan had prepared for departmental guidance, Marshall made him head of the new Policy Planning Committee, one of the Secretary's principal organizational innovations. That six-man committee, operating outside the customary State Department channels and free from day-to-day operational details, was given responsibility for formulating long-range policy and for seeing to it that policies laid down for different sections of the globe are consistent.

These two levels of policy-makers —Harriman, Forrestal, Marshall and Lovett on the top level, Armour, Kennan and Bohlen on the secondary level—have been busy throughout the summer developing a policy for Germany which, in many respects, is as important as the policy for Russia. Unlike the Russian situation, the

CHARLES BOHLEN



GEORGE F. KENNAN

NORMAN ARMOUR

*Drawings by William Sharp*

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German decisions are almost entirely within our own hands. So far, details are obscure, but gradually during the summer policy outlines have become clearer as Europe's dollar crisis deepened, the US Army Occupation authorities clamored for a sharp increase in the allowed level of German production and the straitened British were forced to come crawling to Washington for terms.

*Phenomenal runaround*

GENERAL CLAY, chief of our occupation forces, tipped the US hand somewhat prematurely in July when he prepared an order boosting the level of steel production in the merged US-British zones. Why Clay and others of the top policy-makers, notably Secretaries Forrestal, Harriman and Snyder, who speak for Wall Street within the cabinet, are so anxious for the restoration of German industry ahead of all others in Europe can be understood after a look at the size of American financial holdings in the Reich. After a destructive war, that magnitude is little realized by the US public. In fact, the size is a closely guarded secret —guarded by Big Business and the government, which don't want such crass facts to come to public attention.

A report on those holdings was compiled in October, 1944, by the Foreign Economic Administration in a document entitled "Business Holdings in Germany of US Firms." Today in Washington an official or a non-official trying to obtain a copy of that report gets an amazing runaround. At the Government Printing Office they say they don't have it. At the State Department, which absorbed the FEA, they claim they have no idea what happened to the files and studies of the FEA. Even the man who edited it, who gets phone calls every week asking for copies, doesn't know where any are.

Fortunately both the Senate's Kilgore Committee and the De-Cartelization Branch of Military Government have gone into the matter at length. The Kilgore investigation found that 171 US corporations in 1943 owned controlling interests worth $420 million in 278 German corporations. US corporations had invested $259 million in German manufacturing enterprises alone, mainly automotive and machinery manufacturing, and minority holdings probably bring the total over the $1 billion mark. But even that figure on direct investments does not fully indicate the extent of US financial interests in Germany because, as committee investigators pointed out, cartel arrangements gave US concerns an even broader interest.

Some of the major American corporations with important German holdings are General Motors, General Electric, International Tel & Tel of N. Y., Standard Oil of N. J., the Ford Motor Company, International Business Machines. For example, International Tel & Tel of N. Y. either owns outright or has a majority interest in 20 German companies which together form the third-largest electrical combine in Germany.

*Double indemnity*

THESE American holdings might seem theoretically to have suffered by losing plants in the Soviet zone or by having plants shipped out of Germany to other countries as part of the Potsdam reparations. But actually, the American owners already have, in effect, been reimbursed because, under the Revenue Act of 1942, they were allowed to write off all their German holdings as capital losses, and thus make enormous deductions from their wartime profit taxes. For instance, General Motors wrote off its Opel plants as a $35 million loss. And furthermore, the American-owned firms will be in an even more dominant position in German industry as the result of reparations because the Potsdam Agreement provides that plants owned by the German government and by German individuals shall be the first to be dismantled and sent eastward. Thus foreign-owned concerns, which before the war were about one-third of German industry, will form a higher percentage of the remainder.

With these facts in mind it is easier to see why Wall Street is so anxious to raise the level of German industry and why they are deaf to French pleas for priority on Ruhr coal. The French, who three times have had to fight the warlords of the Ruhr Basin, are determined in this latest reconstruction period to build up their own steel industry so they never again will be dependent on Germany. Of course, such an expanded French steel industry would be principally French-owned, not under control of Wall Street, so the US financial titans look askance at the French struggle for economic independence.

*A dirty word*

As to Britain's position, the Labor Government is committed to Ruhr socialization, but in US-British negotiations pressure has been applied for a delay of perhaps five years on the argument that a change in the system of ownership would slow production of coal and steel urgently needed for European recovery. How it could be slowed any further in the Ruhr, where the old baronial owners have been left so far in smug control, is not explained. And delay, say the British, would be fatal. If the cartelists who armed Hitler, Wilhelm and Bismarck are given a period of grace to get things going again, with fresh US capital, they can never be shaken loose

Socialization, of course, is a dirty word on Wall Street, since it is obvious what would happen to US holdings under such a system. Probably all they would get would be full compensation for plants they already have been compensated for once by writing them off as tax losses. No longer would they control rich profits from German manufactures. So Wall Streeters gravely admonish the British and others who have turned toward a mild sort of socialism. Secretary Marshall is said to have defined his own position on the matter in a State Department meeting when he declared simply: "I am against experimentalism."

Reports from Britain indicate that Ambassador Lew Douglas has been even more blunt in private talks with the Attlee government, blaming Britain's economic plight on efforts toward socialism. The implication has been made clear that further socialistic steps, such as nationalization of the steel industry, might jeopardize future US aid to Britain. This drift of affairs

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caused one State Department official, who cannot be identified for obvious reasons, to analyze the current situation thus: "The basic issue is whether the Marshall Plan will be used to fight socialism all over the world or whether we will give economic aid to any nations preserving civil liberties and allow them to decide for themselves the economic-political system under which they will live."

It so happens that in Europe the factions which most closely approximate the American brand of democracy, who believe in the same freedoms we do and who wish to practise them, are socialists. In France, in Italy and in the smaller countries that generalization is true. To force them to abandon socialism would, in the opinion of thoughtful officials of State, force those countries to political extremes—either neo-fascism or communism.

As far as can be determined, the issue has not been finally decided by the high policy-makers, although the lineup in favor of using this world crisis to strike down socialism is a formidable one: the cabinet secretaries who speak for Wall Street—Forrestal, Harriman and Snyder; General Clay and his cohorts in Germany; Ambassador Douglas and the Republican high command. And no list of the men around Marshall would be complete without mention of Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, the Republican leader who, on matters of foreign policy, speaks for the congressional majority and thus in the final accounting has veto power over the policies of the Administration.

*Sole responsibility*

MARSHALL'S relations with Vandenberg have been cordial and friction has been at a minimum chiefly because the Republican Senator was largely in accord with the major policies formulated by the Forrestal-Harriman-Snyder element in the cabinet even before Marshall came in. As the historic party of Big Business, nothing could be more satisfying to the Republicans than the policy of containing Russia while concentrating on the rebuilding of Germany, a lush field for Wall Street investments. However, after the Greek-Turkish loans were argued through Congress over opposition which surprised the State Department, Vandenberg is said to have told Marshall that this was as far as he was prepared to go with bipartisanship "until the country has been educated up to it."

Pitted against the formidable array surrounding Marshall are the British and French governments and, within the State Department, a group of liberal, foresighted men who still hope to convince Secretary Marshall that despite his antipathy toward "experimentalism," he should not support a scheme for turning Europe over to Wall Street.

The vast scope of this struggle and the decisions involved are an immeasurable burden to Marshall, who must also carry responsibility for the execution of policy. Amid the constant, conflicting pressures of his high position, Marshall is not entirely happy, though a compelling sense of duty and immense integrity force him to carry on. Not long ago he wearily told a confidant, "The trouble with this job, compared with being Chief of Staff, where I knew more than everybody else, is that here everybody knows more about it than I do."

Marshall was, no doubt, being overmodest, but his appraisal of his own situation had some truth, since, at the age when most men retire, he put a brilliant career behind him and launched on an entirely new one. His training, first as a VMI cadet, then laboriously up through the Army, was not of a nature to prepare him for the task of running a complex, sometimes nebulous organization where the abstractions of tomorrow are as important as the realities of today. On every side of him are experts, primed with facts and experience, many with axes to grind, ready to give an authoritative word on any subject. It would take a great and inordinately subtle mind to grasp all these issues and principles quickly and to mold these diverse personalities into a coherent, controlled organ of power, particularly when such a competent, highly integrated group as the Wall Streeters have their minds made up as to what they want and how to get it.

## The Unmysterious Mr. "X"

ONE of the most significant recent explanations of US foreign policy as it applies to Russia was made, not in the Secretary of State's office, but in the semi-academic pages of *Foreign Affairs*, a privately financed quarterly published by the Council of Foreign Relations.

Presumably to hide the author's identity, the article was signed "X." The secret was so well kept that, outside of a few thousand officials and reporters in Washington, the millions of readers of a reprinted version in *Life* and practically every American newspaper reader, no one guessed that it was written by George F. Kennan, top Russian adviser and head of the State Department's Policy Planning Committee.

After stating, in Marxist language, "Soviet power, like the capitalistic world of its conception, bears within it the seeds of its own decay," "X" advocated that "United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansionist tendencies." "X" wrote that the US should make sure "it has filled every nook and cranny available to it in the basin of world power."

The end results of such cold-war policies on American democracy at home were pointed out by Walter Lippmann in the New York *Herald Tribune*. "How . . . under the Constitution of the United States is Mr. X going to work out an arrangement by which the Department of State has the money and the military power always available in sufficient amounts to apply 'counterforce' at constantly shifting points all over the world?" Lippmann asked. "A policy of shifts and maneuvers may be suited to the Soviet system of government [but it] is not suited to the American system of government [and it] is even more unsuited to the American economy."

Suitable or unsuitable, US foreign policy has been following the pattern blueprinted by the State Department's unsecretive "X."

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# Men Around Molotov

by Alexander Kendrick

*Russia's foreign policy is dominated by an anti-Westernism as uncompromising as the leaders who established and execute it*

As is well known, to borrow a favorite Soviet phrase, the men around Foreign Minister Molotov are less initiators of policy than its hand-servants. When the policy hardens, they harden with it. The Foreign Minister himself, almost affectionately known as "Aunty Mol" to American and British negotiators during the days of the war and of Allied coöperation, is now referred to as "the man with a stone behind."

But this does not imply that Soviet policy at the present stage of world events is one of merely sitting it out and saying no until everyone else gets exasperated and goes home. That is not being hard, but only being stubborn, and Secretary of State Marshall and Foreign Secretary Bevin have borne their share of nay-saying too.

The Russians know by now that the US is not going home. They believe that the men around Marshall look at the world in terms of opposing forces, atom bombs, strategic bases and economic and psychological warfare. They find us acting exactly as all the textbooks say capitalists should act. In the mind of the average Soviet citizen there is no doubt that the US has embarked on a path of expansion, of aggression, of throwing its weight about, of interfering in the affairs of other states and in general of behaving in an obnoxious manner.

This one-sided picture of the US position which Molotov and his advisers have is exactly analogous to the one-sided picture of the Soviet objective in the minds of Marshall's men in Washington. Some truth may exist in both pictures, since both have similar mechanisms behind them in the form of diplomatic services which report what those in the home offices want to hear. In the case of the Soviet service, some of the men around Molotov were Tass correspondents also, and their dispatches were not noted for delicate shading. Confronted by the basic situation of a US represented as rampant, Soviet policy is not merely defensive. When Molotov and his many men turned their backs on the Marshall Plan and the Paris Conference, they were not withdrawing into isolationism.

It is more logical to suppose that their reasoning was as follows:

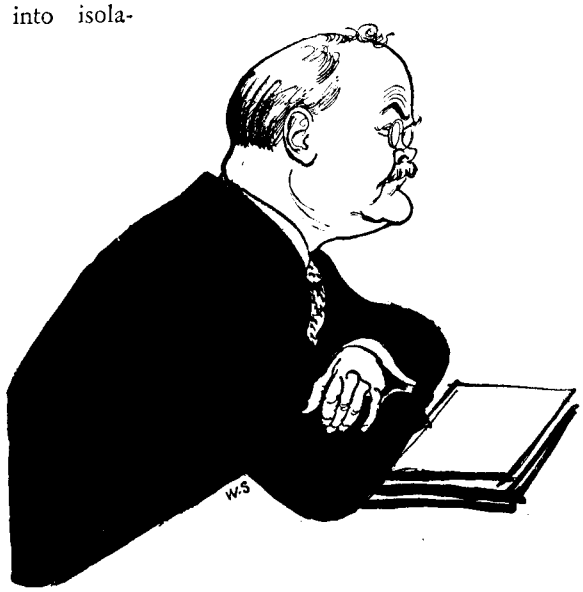
*We have faith in the tenet that the contradictions of capitalism are irreconciliable. We think those contradictions are greater than ever in postwar Europe because you have several different degrees of capitalism. However, it so happens that when the Soviet Union is involved in international dealings, nearly all the other states can temporarily forget their differences and join in a common anti-Soviet front on many issues. With the Soviet Union out of the room, other states will be caught with their contradictions down.*

This is exactly what has been happening at Paris. The 16-nation meeting has been so busy with its conflicting attitudes toward bread and butter, it has failed to turn into a Western bloc.

In addition to a belief in the contradictions of capitalism in the larger sense, the men around Molotov more specifically believe in a coming economic crisis in the US. A good deal of wishful thinking is implicit, but contrary to the opinion of Mr. "X" (see page 19), Molotov's men are not merely patiently and philosophically waiting about for nature to take its dialectical course.

### *Few friendly thoughts*

A TRIP through Central Europe will provide convincing evidence that there are not going to be any more depressions in Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries with economic plans. It will provide evidence that the Western nations, especially the US, are the subject of fewer and fewer friendly thoughts. There is a growing conviction that much as Western help would be appreciated and useful, it can be done without. Most striking of all, there is no feeling that Europe is done




VIACHESLAV M. MOLOTOV

*Alexander Kendrick is the Moscow correspondent of the Chicago* Sun.

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for, as so many in the West seem to believe. A great many economic reforms have been introduced and their effect has been that of shock therapy.

All these things add up to a Soviet policy that is subtly but definitely anti-Western, dedicated to the proposition that the West—or more accurately, Western capitalism—cannot hope to reorganize itself successfully or to reorganize Europe on a status-quo-ante basis.

When Molotov and the men around him negotiate, they are sitting behind that kind of hand. Back home, meanwhile, the anti-Western sentiments of the Soviet press, propaganda and public-opinion agencies can hardly be believed. The ideological reactivation in Moscow has been almost virulent during the past four months, that is, since the failure of the Big Four conference there.

### *No Wheaties in Russia*

THIS is the year of the great freeze for foreigners. The strict new state-secrets law has put a ban on even the most ordinary kind of information, such as the depth of the new branch of the Moscow subway. Newspaper editorials warn Soviet citizens against loose conversation and casual acquaintances, and tell them that hundreds of spies have somehow managed to infiltrate across the Soviet border.

Even more impressive as an example of the trend, however, is the over-all clinical examination now taking place in Soviet literary criticism, history, philosophy and science.

For mass consumption this is pitched on a fairly low level. The basic theme is Soviet patriotism, and the glorification of the "Soviet man." Soviet art, literature and music are declared to be far superior to those of the "decadent" and "bourgeois" West. French, British and US scientists are charged with having usurped discoveries made by Russians. As a matter of fact, a good deal of what the Russians say is so. Certainly their music is good, their theater incomparable, and Popov, not Marconi, introduced radio. But the anti-Western tone of the present patriotism campaign is often gratuitous. It would be difficult to demonstrate empirically that the Soviet Union's world champion weight lifter got that way only because he is the product of a Socialist society—maybe he eats Wheaties too.

In such places as the universities, the recently formed organization for the "dissemination of knowledge," public lectures, meeting rooms of the Union of Soviet Writers, halls of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the columns of official journals like the *Bolshevik, Culture and Life* and *Party Life,* the anti-Western campaign goes a good deal deeper.

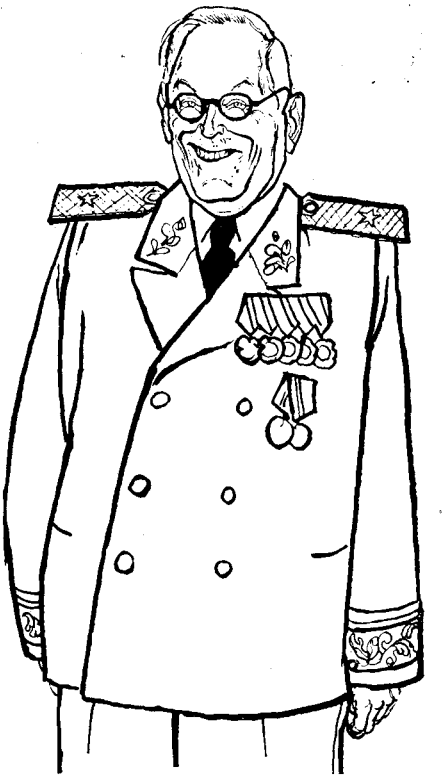
Here there can be no dispute about "Der Untergang des Abendlandes" (The Decline of the West). Literally dozens of articles have appeared and dozens of lectures have been given on Western philosophy, Western literature, Western art, Western morals—poetry, movies, football, popular songs, dances, John Dewey—illustrating the theme of decadence.

How seriously the theme is being taken may best be judged by the recent case of George F. Alexandrov, the bald-headed chairman of the Communist Party's propaganda committee. He holds one of the most important and—obviously—influential positions in the Soviet Union. He was chosen to make the main speech at the party's annual rally on Lenin's birthday, and it was an anti-Western speech. His articles in the *Bolshevik* on American philosophy pulled out all the anti-Western stops. On the basis of past performances, he was doing a bang-up job as executive director—in a fashion of speaking—of the present anti-Western campaign.

### *Captured by the bourgeois*

AS it turned out, however, Alexandrov was deemed by those higher up to have gone not nearly far enough. He was publicly censured by Zhdanov for having himself gone into "the captivity of bourgeois historians of philosophy" in his history of pre-Marxist philosophy. The censure took place before a conference of philosophers called by the central committee of the party, apparently at the wish of Stalin.

The Alexandrov case was a real high-



ANDREI Y. VISHINSKY

explosive bomb. It makes clear that in international conferences, diplomatic negotiations and all the complicated relationships of world politics and economics, the governing body for Soviet policy is not the men around Molotov but the men Molotov is around—the Politburo of the Communist Party.

Behind Molotov as he will be sitting on stone again at the November conference of foreign ministers will be the consciously nurtured and rapidly permeating anti-Westernism of the Soviet Union. Behind that are the 14 men of the Politburo.

The Soviet Foreign Office is old enough to have—and does have—some excellent observers, analysts and trial lawyers in its service. Many of them have had first-hand experience in the West. Since the end of the war there has been almost a mass migration of Soviet diplomats from foreign posts to key jobs in the big rambling M. I. D. building off Dzerzhinsky Square. Feodor T. Orekhov, who was press secretary and frequently acting ambassador in Washington throughout the war, is now chief of the American section in the ministry. Konstantin Zynchenko, who was in London during the war and has been

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head of the press department since, attending all the Big Four meetings as Molotov's press aide, is now chief of the Latin American section. Zonov, another Soviet official well known in London, is in the Foreign Office press department.

### *Explosive legal light*

At the point where policy is carried out, that is to say in the international conferences, Molotov depends upon such keen minds as those of K. V. Novikov, who seems to be a chief trouble-shooter, and A. A. Smirnov, the ministry's expert on Germany. At the UN meetings he has Arkady Sobolev, A. A. Arutiunian, an Armenian, and of course the indefatigable Andrei Gromyko. Flanking Molotov are also Dmitri Z. Manuilsky and Nikolai Petrovsky, representing the Ukraine, and Kuzma V. Kiselev of Byelorussia.

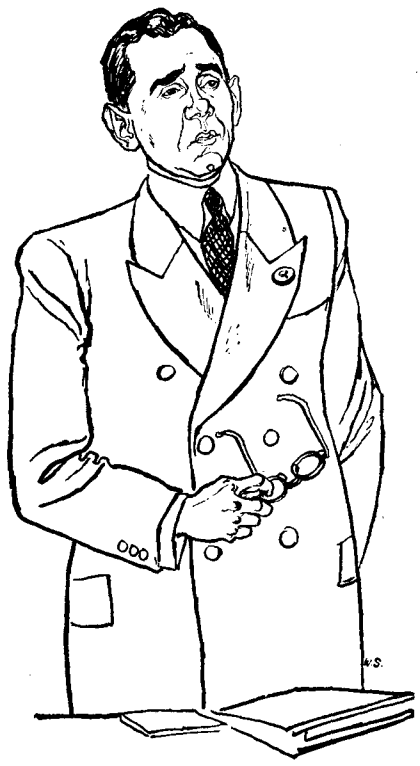
But Molotov's right bower is Andrei Y. Vishinsky, his principal deputy, who is the Soviet Union's leading legal light. Vishinsky's brilliance, which is something like that of a Catherine wheel going off on the Fourth of July, offers a contrast to the slow, serious, plodding ways of his superior, and even his Western opponents, who dislike him intensely, concede that Robert's *Rules of Order* have been outdated by Vishinsky's. The man who won fame as the prosecutor at the Moscow Trials is full of wise saws and modern instances, as well as the fables of Krylov, Shakespeare's plays and Homer.

The thing to be noted about all these men around Molotov is that virtually none is what we would consider a trained diplomat. The older men like Molotov himself and Vishinsky and Manuilsky are professional revolutionaries. They have other talents too, but these are incidental to their function of carrying on the revolution by diplomacy.

The younger men have nearly all been trained in other professions. Gromyko is an economics teacher. Kiselev is a doctor of medicine; Petrovsky, a professor of history; Arutiunian, an economist. These philosophers, scientists and economists who represent the Soviet apparatus just as naturally as bankers, lawyers and businessmen represent capitalism in diplomacy will succeed the original old revolutionaries in the top layers of the government and party. These men who carry out policy have had personal and sometimes intimate contact with the West, while most of the members of the Politburo who make the policy have not. But that is no reason for believing in any conflict of opinion. The decision to adopt an anti-Western policy was a party decision—it did not just grow.

The question is how long such a policy will be continued. Some men around Marshall apparently think a change could be wrought overnight and that given any sort of encouragement at all, the men around Molotov would jump at the chance to call the whole thing off and go back to being friends. Those who think that can have no idea of the extent to which anti-Western sentiments and a return to the old-time anti-capitalist religion have penetrated into the fiber and being of ordinary as well as leading Soviet citizens.

The men around Molotov suffer from being extremely inept propagandists. They go on the theory that their friends will understand them anyway, while their enemies will be opposed no matter what they do. There is no need, therefore, to woo public opinion by anything except the text of official statements. The Soviet public gets practically all its information in this way and it must be admitted that, in the Russian context, policy so explained is not only effective but convincing.



*Drawings by William Sharp*

ANDREI A. GROMYKO

### *Stone without bunions*

The Russians are amused by the way in which we personalize what are essentially conflicts of ideas. They never look at the Big Four meetings as personal contests, say between Marshall and Molotov. To them there is no such thing as a Truman Doctrine or a Marshall Plan except as an identification label. One is simply a doctrine for organized political and economic opposition to communism, the other only a plan to restore US markets and to allow US monopoly capitalism to expand. Both are expressions of the capitalist desire not only for survival but for growth. Similarly, there is no such thing as a Molotov plan for checkmating the Marshall Plan, but only an enunciation of Soviet principles which, they believe, have only to be looked at to be loved.

It does not work out like that at all. The plain fact is that personalities do get in the way of ideas, realities are often camouflaged to seem illusions, headlines are more powerful than official texts, and the red herring is the most common fish in the world.

But it is doubtful if the men around Molotov will ever become aware of these things. They would rather be right than be convincing and they are prepared to wait a long time to be proved right. This means that their present policy will endure a long time and there is small likelihood of modification even if the other side should get itself into a concession-swapping mood, which does not seem likely either. The policy will keep getting harder on both sides. Molotov has certain advantages in such a development. One good thing about stone is that you don't get bunions from sitting on it.

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# George Kennan's Russian Opposite Number

## by Henry Shapiro

THE highly centralized character of the Soviet state makes comparisons between the "American way" and the "Soviet way" of shaping foreign policy difficult. Men like George F. Kennan and Charles Bohlen, the State Department specialists who direct the day-to-day operation of our policies toward Germany, have their nominal counterparts in the Soviet foreign ministry, but the role of these Soviet functionaries is incomparably less important than that of the Americans. Actually, the day-to-day management of Soviet foreign policy rests in the hands of no less a person than Premier Joseph Stalin himself, who is his own Department of State, his own counselor and his own chief of the Bureau of American Affairs.

Stalin may, of course, sometimes choose to delegate policy-making to his subordinates. But in the Soviet Union, professional diplomats are mainly collectors of information and impersonal executors of directives whose ultimate source is Stalin's Politburo. In some cases an American vice-consul has more original authority than a Soviet ambassador. The Politburo consists of 14 men carefully selected, trained and tested by Stalin; and while its decisions are reached presumably after full discussion, there is no doubt that the last word is Stalin's.

How well is Stalin equipped for this task? Visitors, ambassadors, writers and labor leaders who have talked with him have been invariably impressed by his broad knowledge and mastery of many details of history, literature and international relations. Years ago, at his first reception of an American trade-union delegation, Stalin corrected the Americans on some minor incident in American labor history. Some time later he argued fine points of English history with H. G. Wells. With Lion Feuchtwanger he debated the merits of contemporary Western literature, and more recently he amazed Lord Beaverbrook with his precise knowledge of the specifications of English guns. Foreigners who have seen the Prime Minister in the past few months report that at 68 he still looks physically robust and mentally alert.

Three incidents are illustrative of the extraordinary centralization of Soviet power and Stalin's preoccupation with administrative details which elsewhere are the headache of minor officials. Last spring, after being rebuffed at lower levels, Ernest Bevin had to make a personal appeal to Stalin to permit 15 Russian wives of British subjects to leave the Soviet Union to rejoin their husbands. It was at about the same time that Harold Stassen wasted precious moments of a rare interview pleading with the Generalissimo to admit an American correspondent into the Soviet Union. And somewhat earlier, in the presence of Molotov, at Eric Johnston's request, Stalin brusquely overruled Molotov's refusal to permit American newspapermen to accompany Johnston on his trip to the Urals.

ACCORDING to Stalin's interlocutors, he can be extremely charming and friendly or forbiddingly sullen and politely frigid, all depending on the occasion. Though less talkative than Churchill or Roosevelt, his personality quietly dominated the atmosphere at Teheran and Yalta. In the course of discussions he was often able to make rapid decisions and answer impromptu questions without referring to his advisers. He brought fewer technical experts to those conferences and seemed to rely on them less than the American and British leaders depended on their own staffs.

A study of Stalin's writings and speeches and an analysis of Soviet foreign policy since he took supreme power, with all its apparent contradictions and flagrant zigzags, reveal a general consistency and unparalleled singleness of purpose. Willkie expressed it when he told Stalin, "You always keep your eye on the ball."

Although since the war, the world, outside the United States, has witnessed the rapid growth of the political Left, and in Russia itself there has been a considerable resurgence of Marxist study, Stalin's first and foremost concern appears to remain the progress of the Soviet state. He means to continue to direct the development of his country along exclusively socialist lines. Had he made certain concessions to capitalism, it might conceivably have been easier for him and for the rest of the world. But in the shifting values that constitute the Soviet way of life, the social ownership of the means of production remains one of few constants.

Out of Stalin's concern for the security of the Soviet state has grown the policy of surrounding the USSR with a belt of friendly nations. These are approximately the same nations that formed the anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* erected after Versailles.

STILL there is no reason to suppose that Stalin has abandoned hope for an eventual worldwide communist society. This is inherent in Marxism; and Marxists believe in the inevitability of communism, as do devout Christians in the hereafter. But it is doubtful that the Russians are prepared to risk the concrete achievements of Soviet communism in promoting world revolution by Soviet force. At the present moment they seem resigned to the two-world concept. They probably will not risk the life of one Soviet soldier to bring about revolution in Western Europe.

In the fulfilment of his objectives Stalin has shown a flexibility which is sometimes forgotten in the present intransigence on both sides of the East-West frontier. It should be recalled that at one time the Soviet government had extremely good relations with Ataturk's Turkey, which it aided in its successful struggle against British-supported Greece.

It was on excellent trading terms with Fascist Italy and Social-Democratic Germany. It actively supported the Spanish republic and gave substantial assistance to Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese when we were selling oil and scrap iron to the Japanese. Soviet leaders swallowed their pride and lost an incalculable number of foreign sympathizers when they signed the pact of friendship with Germany in 1939. "Ideology is a matter of taste," Molotov then said in rationalizing an unpopular pact which he believed was demanded by the highest interests of Soviet security.

Is there any reason to believe now that Stalin would be less willing to conclude a pact of friendship with the Western powers than he was with Germany if there were mutual concessions and he thought it beneficial to the Soviet Union? American recognition of the Russians' need for friendly neighbors or the offer of a substantial loan might be a test of Stalin's willingness to play ball.

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*Henry Shapiro managed the Moscow Bureau of the United Press from 1939 through 1946.*

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# THE GERMAN PRESS: Liberated but Not Free

AT war's end in Germany, there was not a single newspaper politically clean enough to continue functioning.

In those early days, the four occupying powers drew up a basic directive which was to govern the ethics of the German press then being born. The directive gave Germans the right to run their newspapers as they saw fit, provided they did not advocate Nazi ideas, did not endanger the military security of the occupying forces and did not print anything tending to undermine the dignity and authority of any one of the occupying powers.

It wasn't long before German newspapers began to spring up all over Germany. They were sad affairs physically, but they did carry the sign of that era: authentic news.

Today Germany has 153 licensed papers. Many of them are the size of our own evening journals, and are sold at thousands of newsstands throughout Germany. And they carry the sign of *this* era: suspicion, discord and enmity between the occupying powers.

IN our zone the German press—63 licensed newspapers—uses the independent American news agencies AP, UP, INS and such; the German news agency DENA, which in the first place we set up and operated; and the domestic American press.

The Russian zone today has 20 licensed papers, many of them printing local editions. They use the Russian news agency TASS, the Russian-zone German agency ADN; Radio Moscow and the official Soviet organ, *Pravda.*

The result of this "each-zone-for-itself" method of gathering news is that no one reading a German newspaper today could doubt which zone it was published in. As the domestic press of Russia and of the US has grown increasingly two-world minded, so the German zonal press has followed suit. Today, it no longer expresses German thought, but the ideological battle of two occupying powers.

In the early days, the Germans of all zones were free to read whatever was published anywhere in Germany (though difficulties of transport made this largely a freedom in principle *only*). Today tight zonal rules prevent the free flow of newspapers from one zone to the other. This ban, which grew up toward the end of the first year of occupation, was decried loudly by our policy-makers in Germany, who blamed the Russian "iron-curtain" policy. However, when the Russians recently offered to lift the zonal ban and permit our printed matter to enter their zone, but only on a reciprocal basis, we beat a hasty retreat and caught our breath just long enough to shout, "The Russians are unfair!" Our reasoning now seems to be that the Russians have more newsprint than we have, and that it would therefore be wrong for us to permit the minds of "our" Germans to be poisoned by Russian-controlled news without an adequate antidote of news controlled by the Americans.

THE original four-power directive based on mutual trust and respect lies buried under the ill will, distrust and enmity that today characterize all dealings between East and West.

Perhaps neither the Russians nor we meant to go this far; perhaps neither would consciously set out to pervert the new German press. But in dealing with an occupied country, it is well to remember that any hint on the part of "Authority" as to the way they'd like to have things go is likely to be taken up with speed and energy by many who are eager to please.

IT isn't easy to give convincing examples of the propaganda war raging in the German press when space limitations prevent reprinting more than a few lines picked at random, but the following pair of quotes may stimulate the reader's imagination to weigh the effects of this sort of journalism when practised daily.

*Der Tagesspiegel,* American-sponsored Berlin daily, published a three-column article entitled "Russia's Two Faces," based on a report by *Time* correspondent Samuel Welles. One sentence gives the gist of the article: "There is a dual story to be told about Russia. That of a big, warm-hearted people, and that of a cold bureaucracy holding the people in an iron grip." Needless to say, emphasis of the article is on the "iron grip."

*Vorwarts,* Russian-licensed Berlin daily, attacks US industrialists and US "imperialism." "Early in 1945," *Vorwarts* claims, "while fighting was still going on in Germany, American industrialists already had their representatives stationed behind the fighting lines, ready to take over administration of German industries . . . agents of the most powerful American trusts, employed to decartelize Germany . . . but actually sent by their masters to grab control of German industrial power for American monopol-capitalists." Charging that German war criminals are now employed in the western zones of occupation as "junior partners of American trusts," *Vorwarts* warns German workers not to be duped into becoming "slave labor for American imperialism."

This is editorial mischievousness, undoubtedly practised by many German editors for their own purposes. The present tragedy of the situation is, however, that her masters, we former allies, continue to tolerate it.

EVA PUTNAM

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# Zooming Up From a Pinpoint

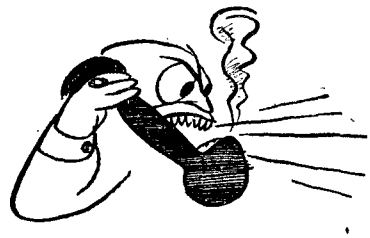
by Thomas Whiteside

*There's no escape from the movie trailers, those unbeatable films called "Coming Next Week"*

WITHIN the motion-picture industry there exists a group of executives with the most extraordinary attribute known to Hollywood—shyness. The subjects of this apparent contradiction in terms are the makers of movie trailers, the brief but fascinating films which, under the title of COMING NEXT WEEK, so neatly review the nature of screen attractions yet unseen. In an industry which rests on a determination never to let a superlative get the better of it, the trailer makers think only of their art. As a result, their morale is high; so high that they are able to communicate, through the trailers, an unshakable belief that every picture they describe is the most colossal ever made.

Invincible in language yet retiring of nature, the trailer makers are also among the most sensitive and discriminating of Hollywood's artists. Throwing unessentials to right and left, they touch only the most compelling scenes of the pictures they describe, usually with such violence as to amaze, in the words of Shakespeare, the very faculties of eyes and ears—or, in the words of a trailer executive, "to get that third-dimensional feeling and to make the audience actually exclaim out loud, 'Gee, that looks like a hell of a good picture'."

The trailers, too, are democratic. So highly do they appraise the general cultural level of a free society that they print the dates of feature productions they advertise in Roman numerals. Their popularity has reached such a pitch that many movie exhibitors positively decline to book a picture without advance trailers, which are viewed weekly by 100 million Americans.

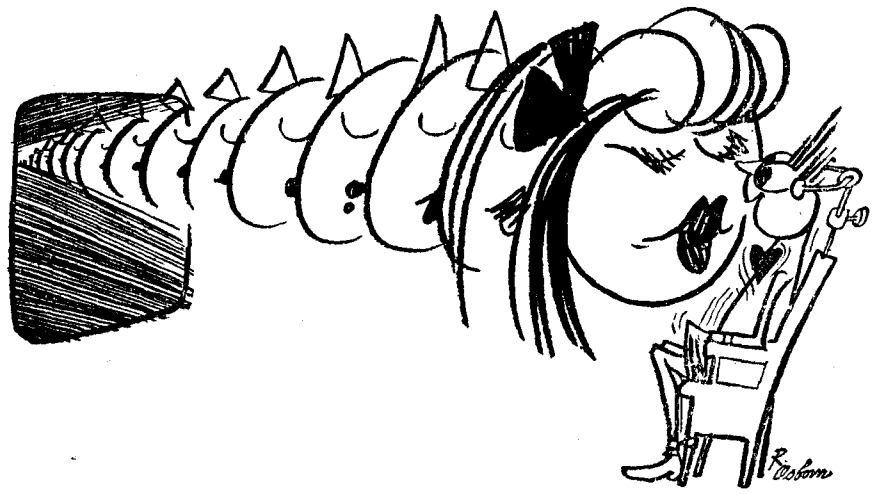


Most trailers are made and distributed by an organization called the National Screen Service Corporation. Modest to a fault, officials of National Screen become curiously unenthusiastic when approached for information. The same goes for Twentieth Century-Fox, where any extended inquiries are limited by ringing telephones and various ad men dropping in to split infinitives.

Within this somewhat fissionable atmosphere, the executive I was trying to interview was crying into a telephone, "What went wrong with that bubblehead?" After a while he paused, told me evasively, "There's no romance angle in the trailers," and turned to the phone again exclaiming, "That Moscowitz!" Without even learning the nature of bubbleheads, I trailed away to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Fortunately, at M-G-M, which makes its own trailers, executives are somewhat more inclined to discuss their art. "People don't realize the work involved in a trailer," said one. "Why, we've got editors whose life's work is trailers." These gentlemen are exceptionally alert. "The thinking that goes into the trailers emanates from the studios," said one of M-G-M's biggest trailer men. This thinking process begins when the trailer maker sits down with the advertising department, after seeing the full picture, and discusses what are termed "the various angles." In the trailer industry, angles are extremely important. These include music, romance, action and spectacle angles.

Tentatively straightening out such patterns, the trailer maker transmutes thought into action. He orders from the cutting room 20 or 30 scenes of the picture under discussion. This decision is crucial, for should the trailer maker



*Drawings by Robert Osborn*

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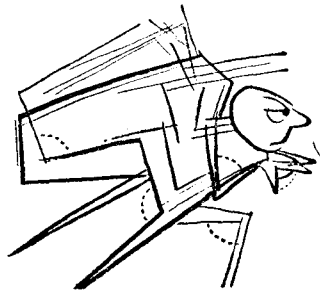


by geometric miscalculation choose the wrong angle, the public may not wish to see the complete film.

Such was the unfortunate case of "The Great Waltz," made in MCMXXXVIII by M-G-M, and seen by comparatively few millions. "We looked at the trailer to see if anything was wrong," said the trailer executive. "The trailer made it look like a foreign picture—foreign names, tale of old Vienna—foreign atmosphere! Looked like it had salt water on it. We fixed up the trailer—you know, 'One of the most lavish and engaging productions to come from M-G-M'—re-released it, and now the

picture is outgrossing its original run."

The trailer maker's path is also made rocky by the preferences of various executives. "The director has his favorite scenes," said the M-G-M man; "so does the producer and so does the actor. They all want them in the trailer. A conflagration out on the Coast of all elements and personalities!"

In such a fiery situation, dull prose has little place. "You can't underplay a picture," remarked a veteran trailer maker. "Not that we ever overplay them," he added hastily. "But you've got seven companies to compete with, and their trailers all say that their pictures are absolutely terrific.

"Personally, I lean on the conservative side. I've been called into the front office and bawled out for not saying a picture is very, very big. 'Where's the word BIG?' they ask me, like I wasn't earning my keep."

No matter how terrific the trailer, it must never tell too much of the story. Engrossed in their art form, some trailer makers recently digested their

pictures so well that the public neglected to see the full-length features they described. Top-echelon executives quickly put a stop to this dangerous trend. The trailers returned to the properly ambiguous track. "Suppose we have a man shot," explained a trailer maker. "We just don't show the body, and keep them guessing that way. Suppose we get in a punch scene —triangle walks in on a twosome, let's say—we don't show what he sees. Get the idea? A little mystery short in itself!"

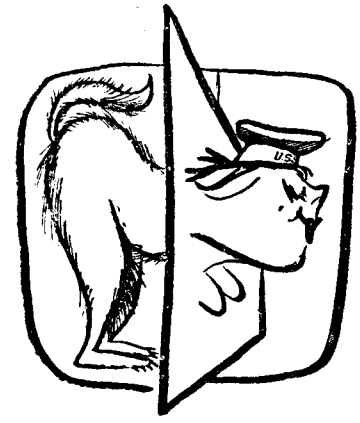
*Steady, chaps!*

SHORT though the productions may be, the trailers when shown consecutively add up to fairly long periods of stirring entertainment. Some chain theaters displaying double features may enthral their audiences with as much as 20 minutes of trailers in one performance. One trailer executive admits that this may involve a certain amount of restlessness, but considers this drawback minute com-

pared with the overwhelming advantages of trailers. "They're the best merchandising medium in the world," he remarked. "You *have* to see the trailers if you're in a theater—the only way you can get away from them is by closing your eyes or maybe going to the men's room."

Luckily, the laws of probability preclude any widespread indulgence in such escapist practices. It has been calculated that 100 million Americans go to the movies each week. Computed in terms of trailer viewing, the nation thus happily consumes at least 10 million man-hours weekly in staring at "wipes," "zooms," "barn doors," "book effects," "pinwheels," "chemical fades," "flip-ups" and "whirlpools," these interesting terms denoting the eccentric behavior of text and scenery as the trailers are hurled upon the screen.

The study of Wipes is a field in itself, involving Dagger Wipes, Shield Wipes and Iris Wipes, in addition to Wipes Off, Wipes On, Slow Wipes and Fast Wipes. A Wipe, in brief, is a visible or invisible line



which propels itself across a scene, at once expunging it and revealing another scene in its wake. "We wipe right into a night club," a trailer maker will remark in describing the economical techniques of a currently colossal production. "That saves us the time of having the actor walk up to the door." Wipes are very popular, and no good trailer maker would think of using less than six in a two-minute production.

Should the Wipe become monotonous, the Pinwheel is always ready.

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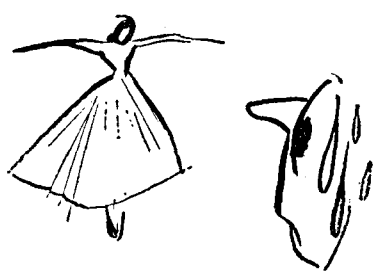
Assume a production involving the Pinwheeling of two stars, Shirley Temple and Lassie. The scene portraying Miss Temple suddenly turns, or pinwheels, like a revolving door, revealing Lassie on its posterior surface. Should the trailer maker have the temerity to perform a Barn Door on Miss Temple, the unfortunate young lady would split in two. A more acceptable technique would be to dissolve her with a Chemical Fade, Bleeding Her Off into Nothing.

*Wham! She's wistful!*

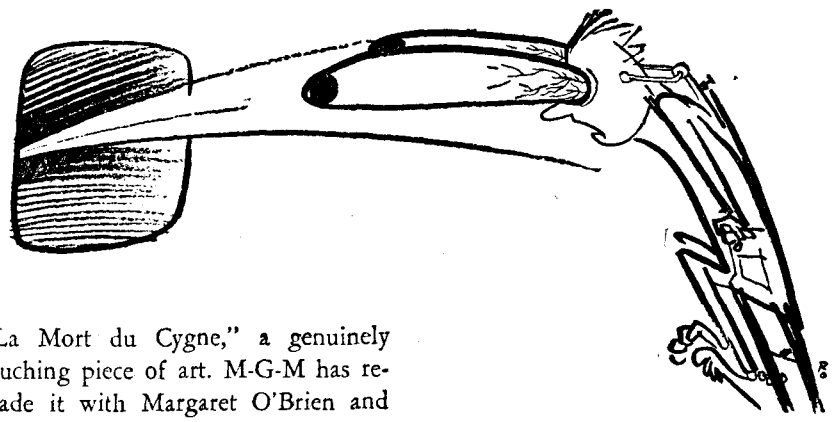
PERHAPS the most artistic and formidable device of all is the Zoom, by the nature of which titles hurtle forward from nowhere to stun the audience with their important message. This terrifying system is known as Zooming from a Pinpoint up to Full Screen. Sometimes these letters



not only zoom, they zoom with a trajectory, like an exploding shell. Another variant, the Reverse Zoom, wherein the letters zoom back to a Pinpoint, is equally alarming, having the effect of virtually tearing the viewers' eyes from their sockets.

Zooming up to a private theater on top of Loew's Building, on Broadway, for a screening of some of the current trailers, I found an executive relaying Commence Fire orders to the projectionist in the rear. "Have you 'Body and Soul'?" he asked. "What! *Two* 'Body and Soul'?" The executive looked surprised. On the program, he said, were several fine trailers, including "The Romance of Rosy Ridge," "The Hucksters" and "The Unfinished Dance." The last he described as a "very, very beautiful film about the ballet—story of jealousy."

"The Unfinished Dance," it seems, was adapted from the French film,



"La Mort du Cygne," a genuinely touching piece of art. M-G-M has remade it with Margaret O'Brien and dancing girls "from all the 48 states." "A very difficult film to advertise," remarked the executive. "Ballet! I tell you, it had us in mortal fear. We couldn't talk about ballet in a trailer. We'd scare people away.

"Well, we took a look at the teaser trailer—circulated ahead of the regular trailer. The teaser trailer didn't hit it right. It played up the angle of the first All-American Ballet. Not a bad angle, but we figured it would be better to talk around the problem without mentioning ballet."

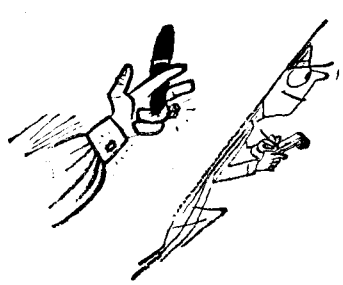
The lights went down. On came the teaser trailer for "The Unfinished Dance." "Girls! Girls! Girls!" read the titles, wiped in one by one in Technicolor. Then came the regular trailer. "M-G-M's mighty parade of Technicolor musical hits marches on!" went the title, with a mighty zoom. Almost immediately, the trailer began wiping like mad from background shots of "Anchors Aweigh" and "Bathing Beauty" through the dancing girls to Margaret O'Brien in ballet dress. "The back-stage drama in the wonderful, fabulous world of the ballet," cried the narrator as the scenes flashed by. "The gayety . . . the romance . . . the intrigue in the fascinating lives of those who hate . . . and the wistful little girl who . . . loved . . . too . . . much. . . ." By this time the wipes had almost boxed the compass; they came from right, left and vertically, and one—of concavo-convex formation—cut massive swaths like a magic scythe. "The sheer magnificence of its wondrous dances," shouted the announcer—"the majestic splendor of its spectacular stage numbers. . . ."

I turned to the foreword on the trailer script to "The Hucksters." Although not intended for publication, the note displayed a quiet enthusiasm for the film. "This production is one of the most beautiful box-office bonanzas ever to originate in the studio," someone had written. "So in the trailer, no cute tricks, no oblique selling, but WHAM! Here it is!" I looked at the screen. "Love that movie!" chanted the titles, with sundry wipes.

"Say, I was just thinking," called out one executive to the other, from the back of the theater. "We might do a frame something along these lines: You know, the most lovely blah blah, and so on. What do you think?" "Could be," said the second executive. All settled down for "The Romance of Rosy Ridge." This time I merely read the script. "We open," said the text, "with a shot of flames, dissolving into action shot of hooded night riders . . . we sock in three separate, one-word titles (zooming back, from full screen):

"ROUGH! TOUGH! ! TERRIFIC! ! !"

As the triumphant crescendo of music suddenly stopped, the lights went on and I staggered outside. Observing this retreat, the trailer executive looked around, then waved his arm from left to right. "So long," he said, and firmly wiped me offscreen.



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# Books in Review

## *The Last Days of Berlin*

I

END OF A BERLIN DIARY, by William L. Shirer (Alfred A. Knopf; $3.50).

Now that official American policy is bent on restoring German industrial power and Elder Statesman Herbert Hoover tells us that our war against the Nazis was all a terrible mistake, William L. Shirer's sequel to his historic *Berlin Diary* arrives with particular timeliness. It is not that *End of a Berlin Diary* offers any specially new or startling information or has any surprising points to make. Indeed, Shirer's stay in postwar Germany was brief, extending only from November 3, 1945, when he returned to Berlin, to December 9, of the same year, when he left Nuremberg and its trial to return to the US. His adventures were not remarkable. To fill out a book, he had recourse to his personal journal of life in America during the days immediately before the coming of victory in Germany and Japan, of the death of Roosevelt and the author's visit to the San Francisco Conference, where the United Nations was born, and of his two-month trip to London, Paris and occupied Germany at the end of 1944.

To this material, he has added the transcript of a number of seized documents dealing with the Nazi higher-ups in their days of victory and defeat, which he has wisely incorporated into his narrative, rather than leaving them as appendices to the volume. The result may be a sort of grab-bag of information about Germany at war and after, with incidental reflections on the state of the world elsewhere, but it is also an important, chastening and rather terrifying study in Lest We Forget.

The grim aspects of the Shirer report refer not only to Nazi conduct, but to our own and to that of our allies. To begin at home, the author recalls the national grief and sense of loss that came with the death of Roosevelt, and the resulting determination to achieve the ideals of FDR for a peacetime world by making the UN work. San Francisco was to be the first test of the unity of the nations that had won the war, but it was there that, as Shirer recalls, "for the first time the unity of the big powers, which did almost all the fighting, was publicly broken. And over a strange issue."

It was a strange issue, indeed; the American insistence that Argentina, with her dominant pro-Axis military clique, which our late President and Secretary of State Hull had bitterly denounced, be admitted to the new organization, aided by the votes of some twenty Latin American lands which hadn't been in the war. He recalls, too, the feeling among the Americans at San Francisco that, on the Argentine vote and other issues in which we had differed with Molotov, we were "winning victories over the Russians." Already the split between East and West was beginning to widen. Later in Germany he was to hear how the United States occupation officials "had gone so far as to employ Nazi Gestapo agents to track down German Communists, though the Communist Party is recognized as legal in our zone."

He became increasingly upset by our support of reaction everywhere, and in London he noted with consternation how even his Labor Party friends were interested in building up Germany again; but he was not blind to Russian sins, either. The USSR was ready to join the Western democracies in defense of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and had the provocation of the British Tory attempt to placate Hitler at the expense of the Soviets for their post-Munich split with the West. But it is still shocking to note that late in 1940, while Hitler was already planning his attack on Russia, Molotov indicated a blind Russian anxiety to participate in the New Order in Europe and Asia.

In view of the current American policy of regarding Germany as no longer dangerous but a country which must be helped to a happy industrial future, it is interesting to note Shirer's flat statement that, according to our economic and industrial experts in Berlin, German industry is "virtually intact" and that "if left to her own devices, Germany could—in five years—make herself stronger industrially than she was when she marched off to war in 1939." He adds that "almost all the iron and steel furnaces in Germany are in a position to start producing immediately or could be put into operation in a short time after minor repairs. It is this industry that is the basis of a war-making machine. Its capacity of some 25,000,000 tons of steel a year is easily five times what Germany herself could consume for peaceful uses."

There might possibly be some point in this reconstruction of German industry for the use of Europe if there were any signs that the Germans were chastened by defeat or understood the extent of their war guilt, but Shirer feels that, save in the rarest of cases, there is absolutely no such indication. It is not Shirer's contention that the Germans are naturally evil or unsavable, but he believes that far more strenuous methods than we have yet employed must be used to teach the master race the elements of democracy and living at peace with their neighbors. While he was in Germany, it was the Germans who were teaching American troops their anti-Semitism and eagerness for war with Moscow.

To any who may have been impressed by the complaint of the *Army and Navy Journal* that high German military officers should not have been prosecuted at Nuremberg, since their trial was a vicious attempt "to discredit the profession of arms," Shirer's published documents are a strong answer. They show in detail the

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criminal evil of the alliance between the Nazi Party and the General Staff, particularly as represented by such men as Jodl and Keitel. The interpolated documents are in general the most interesting part of the book. They range from Thomas Mann's eloquent letter to Walter von Molo telling why he does not intend to live in postwar Germany, to the dramatic account given by Hanna Reitsch, the German woman flier, to an unidentified American officer with a skillful pen, telling of the last days in Hitler's underground shelter; from the official German plans for overrunning Czechoslovakia and Norway to additional proofs, which somehow never cease to be shocking, of the extent to which mass executions of entire peoples were carried on by Nazi "scientists."

It shouldn't be quite so easy even for forgiving Americans to forget the words of a minor German jailer named Hoess: "It took from 3 to 15 minutes to kill people in the death chamber, depending upon climatic conditions. We knew when the people were dead because their screaming stopped. We usually waited about one half-hour before we opened the doors and removed the bodies. After the bodies were removed our special commandos took off the rings and extracted teeth from the corpses."

THE documents provide apparently conclusive proof that Hitler was not bluffing at Munich, but would have fought if the Allies had resisted him. But as Shirer says, this is no excuse for Munich; the documents further prove that Hitler was banking on the strength of appeasement because, despite his determination to go ahead, he knew he had far less chance against the combined might of England, France, Russia and Czechoslovakia in 1938 than he would have twelve months later after another year's opportunity to split up his foes and take them on piecemeal. There is additional proof of the intimacy of Franco's friendship with the Führer, and many other damning evidences of the guilt and foulness of the diseased German regime of Adolf Hitler. A year ago it might not have seemed so necessary to bring up such well known crimes again, but today their appearance in book form results in a terribly timely work of which the world is much in need.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

II

THE LAST DAYS OF HITLER, by H. L. Trevor-Roper (Macmillan; $3).

IN September, 1945, the British historian, H. L. Trevor-Roper, was sent to Germany to establish the facts of Adolf Hitler's end and to scotch forever the rumor that he had somehow miraculously survived. This book demonstrates how brilliantly he carried out his assignment. From exhaustive research he has put together a carefully documented, irrefutable and unforgettable reconstruction of the last days of April, 1945, in the "subterranean madhouse" of Hitler's Berlin bunker. There, where "the boundaries of days and nights had been forgotten" and the Russian shells crashed incessantly overhead, the sick, broken but still fanatical Führer alternately raged at and reassured the handful of the faithful who surrounded him, waited impatiently for the impossible arrival of Wenck's relieving army from the south, and exerted, even in his last moments, the mystic power over his followers that extended to the borders of the crumbling Reich and kept him undisputed dictator even while Goering, Himmler and other lesser Nazi figures tentatively plotted a separate peace with the Western powers.

With the same painstaking documentation, the book records the extraordinary facts of Hitler's marriage, making of his will, ritual suicide with his bride and immolation in the garden of the Chancellery—an immolation observed not only by the small group the Führer selected to oversee it, but by three Chancellery guards who were attracted by the noise and flames and who recognized the bodies.

But the book is much more than this. In his thorough investigation of the events of these last days, Trevor-Roper has looked farther for the earlier facts that interpret them and has presented a fascinating picture of the fall of Nazism when it reverted, inevitably, to the philosophy of nihilism. "The voice that issued from the doomed city of Berlin in the winter of 1944 and the spring of 1945 was the authentic voice of Nazism, purged of all its accessory appeals . . . welcoming once more the consequences of its original formula, World Power or Ruin."

TREVOR-ROPER shows how this underlying philosophy led of necessity to ruin. Hitler remained Führer by crushing all possible opposition. By crushing it, according to Trevor-Roper, he destroyed those institutions which

*Drawing by John Groth*

BERLIN, DAY OF ITS FALL

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he needed for a strong, centralized government, and the Nazi state ceased to be totalitarian. "Its leading politicians were not," the author declares, "a government but a court—a court as negligible in its power of ruling, as incalculable in its capacity for intrigue, as any oriental sultanate." At the end only the inexplicable personal power of the Führer remained. That power controlled policy but administration was in the hands of toadies and incompetents.

The portraits Trevor-Roper gives of the personalities in this incredible "court" are more graphic and detailed than any that a fictionalized biography would dare attempt. But the unfailing, documented evidence of each point makes it impossible to doubt its authenticity. Here are the high priests of Nazism as they were; here is the procession of quack doctors and astrologers who served them; here is the whole Germanic madness of National Socialism in its downfall. Here, too, in the background, is the "immature Teutonic mind" that accepted and followed this madness—the German people.

THE figure who finally stands most condemned in this book is Reich Armament Minister Albert Speer, an intelligent man who kept himself detached from the intrigues of his colleagues and who believed that material improvements to raise the standard of living, not politics, were the important thing. When Hitler began to order the destruction of communications and buildings, Speer recognized the regime for what it was and tried to countermand the orders. Once he even plotted Hitler's assassination. Actually he did virtually nothing until it was too late because he believed politics was not his concern. Thus, says Trevor-Roper, "he, more than any other, represented that fatal philosophy" which led to National Socialism. In this sense, Speer is symbolic of "that most discouraging German characteristic: the despair of politics."

Nazism has never been made to seem more of a morbidly fantastic myth than in this factual account. But, as the author emphasizes, it was a myth

that engulfed Germany and "nearly shipwrecked the world." Its return is not, even now, impossible. It is significant that the only organized resistance to Hitler in the last disastrous years was the wildly inept and bungled bomb plot of July, 1944, which sought only to replace the Nazi dictatorship with the more familiar German form of military dictatorship.

ANNE L. GOODMAN

## *Fiction Parade*

GERALD WARNER BRACE'S *The Garretson Chronicle* (W. W. Norton; $3) is an account of three generations in a New England family, told by a member of the present generation. Characters and incident are skillfully presented, but both are familiar to the fiction and personal history of Boston and its environs. What distinguishes the book and gives it complexity and depth is that it is primarily an inquiry into the matter of its story. Young Ralph, the narrator, puzzles out his family history from a viewpoint of personal rebellion, in "bewilderment and uncertainty," not as mere reminiscence, but to explain his own life.

When he is expelled first from his prep school and then from Harvard, he realizes that "I had been criticizing [his family] severely and steadily—their habits and facts and values." And by comparison with this order, "culturally and socially I had gone to the bad. In a sense, that's what this book is all about."

In Ralph's grandfather's time, the New England tradition still asserted its provincial claim that "what we conveniently refer to as civilization exists in its most perfect state in Compton, Massachusetts." Characteristically, the old man was a clergyman, and one who had deserted his pulpit for a literary career: he wrote didactic novels. He enjoyed a certain celebrity, associated with the local great and, as a patriarch, imposed on his family a life which his grandson identifies as "an emotional confusion of moral dogma, indiscriminate European culture and self-importance."

To his son Randall, fate was less kind. As for a career, the ministry was by now out of the question. In the afterglow of the Grand Tour, he settled on architecture, but discovered that despite his undoubted ability to design graceful mantels, cupboards and cornices, he had stumbled into the alien and encroaching world of business. He retired to his father's house.

In this chronicle of failure, Randall is the key figure. He is the middle generation, perfectly loyal to his concept of a world, only to learn that that world no longer supports his allegiance; in fact, it doesn't exist. From chagrin, failure and nostalgia, he set out to organize the esthetic remains of the "Great Tradition" and declined into a passionate attachment to the local countryside and colonial architecture. In these lonely consolations, his family had small part. He was less interested in his children than in birds and pediments. As his son accuses him, "You leave out humanity —or you make it equal with other lesser forms of life." To this son he bequeathed not the stability of human affection, but his sense of defeat.

These two lives are the background for Ralph's story, which makes up most of the book. But they permeate that story, and the young man's heritage of failure is the recurring theme. In his well ordered, loveless home, "the ancient customs of gentility regulated us," but from the moment that he was expected to put on the clothes and habits of a gentleman, he was possessed by a "motiveless rebellion." He wills himself to be an outcast, but far from being enthusiastic in his strike for liberty, he glumly accepts that he "was a lost soul forever."

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His flight from the old order ends, inevitably, in a full retreat to his starting point, his native town, where he establishes himself not as a minister or squire, but as the local carpenter. However, in his compulsion to this life, there is much of his grandfather's "plain living and high thinking," and much of his father's love of craftsmanship and local tradition. He is as much a Garretson as any of them in the only way left to him, as his father admits when he says: "You'll be one of the village eccentrics, I foresee—an appropriate position for a Garretson."

IN the first line of his new book, Lion Feuchtwanger intones: "Here begins the novel *Proud Destiny*, also called *Arms for America*" (The Viking Press; $3.50). After 625 pages of close type, he admits: "Here ends the . . . novel *Proud Destiny*. . . ." Those are the two statements in the book with which no one should quarrel. What comes between them is another matter. In the most modest terms, it is a full-dress account of Benjamin Franklin's negotiations for French aid during the American Revolution. A foreword to the novel also claims within its scope "the corruption of a decaying society . . . charming ladies and brilliant, vain men . . . eternal sameness in eternal flux . . . laws of human evolution . . . economic upheaval . . . march of history . . . the growth of human reason between the ice age that has passed and the one that is to come." Apart from this, there's not much to the book.

Granted we can't pretend surprise that this sort of novel reads like a cliché of distorted textbooks and romantic biographies, certain tricks of the historical novelist retain the power to annoy. Particularly such sham authenticity as Louis XVI "trying to look royal and dignified as he did in Duplessis' painting." (Franklin is later described as looking like his portrait by the same artist.) Apparently, however, more people will be pleased than otherwise, as the publishers are prepared for a large sale, including distribution by the Literary Guild.

JOHN FARRELLY

## *Crime and Punishment*

*Villainy Detected, Being a Collection of the most sensational True Crimes and the most notorious Real Criminals that blotted the name of Britain in the Years 1660 to 1800, by Various Hands,* edited by Lillian de la Torre (Appleton-Century; $3). This carefully selected collection of both well and little known cases includes among its "various hands" Defoe, Swift, Scott, Borrow, Lang—and to come down to the modern criminologists—Pearson, Postgate and Roughead. Special, often ribald, and a fillip to palates jaded by stale whodunits.

*The Fatal Caress . . . and other Accounts of English Murders from 1551 to 1888,* edited by Richard Barker (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3). Most of these comparatively obscure murders have been taken from contemporary accounts, such as *The Malefactor's Register, The Tyburn Chronicle, The Theory of Presumptive Proof* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The title story is from De Quincey's *Murder as One of the Fine Arts*. A worthy companion to Miss de la Torre's anthology.

E. H.

# A Second Look

A FEW YEARS AGO Edward H. Faulkner, a former Ohio county agent and amateur farmer, came out with two articles in *Country Life* called "Why Plow?" Faulkner had experimented on his Ohio farm and had come to the conclusion that the moldboard plow was not only unnecessary in farming but was responsible for most (if not all) of the ills of American agriculture. He believed that the moldboard plow should be discarded in favor of the disc harrow. His theory was that the soil should not be turned upside down and that the trash and crop residue should be left on the surface.

He said that by turning the soil over, you interfered with nature's work by stopping capillary action, by burying the plant food so the plants could not get at it and by stopping the conversion of organic matter into soil and plant food.

The response to Faulkner's articles was immediate and violent. He received hundreds of letters from orthodox farmers and scientists, and since he was the kind of person who loved controversy, he elaborated his ideas into a book, *Plowman's Folly,* which sold half a million copies and was written up in mass-circulation magazines. *Plowman's Folly* brought down more wrath upon his head. Scientists and farmers attacked him in greater numbers.

But Faulkner also gained many converts. Thousands tried out his theory, threw away their moldboard plows and found that, with some modifications and exceptions, his theory worked.

Faulkner's new book, *A Second Look* (University of Oklahoma Press; $2), is just exactly what the title says it is: Faulkner examines his own original theory and criticizes *Plowman's Folly*. On the whole, *A Second Look* is a more fair, more temperate and more correct book. Faulkner now admits that other plows may be used aside from the disc harrow; that it may take some time to convert a hard, tight soil into a fertile, mealy one and that others, including Department of Agriculture scientists, were practising his theory long before he made his very limited and brief experiments in Ohio.

Faulkner in his way has done a lot of good. For the first time he has made many people aware of the danger of erosion and of the superiority of trash cultivation. His book will be read both by those who like and dislike it. It should have a success comparable to his first one.

ANGUS MCDONALD

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# Farm

## *King Cotton*[1]

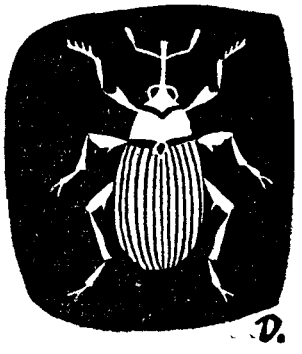
As long as I can remember, the business of growing and selling cotton has been ailing, on its deathbed, or experiencing a remarkable recovery. At the present time Old King Cotton and his slaves are making a somewhat shaky comeback. The crop is excellent (11.8 million bales—three million more than last year), the price is high (around 33.5 cents a pound) and the export market is good. Cotton cloth exported during the first six months of 1947 was at the rate of 1.5 billion yards annually, twice as much as last year. And last year's exports were the highest since 1920.

Prophets have been saying for 20 years that the cotton market was doomed. Many now say that high prices will bring about the ruin of the cotton market in a few years. Rayon, they say (and they point convincingly to the history of rayon and cotton), will compete disastrously in home and foreign markets, and cotton produced cheaply abroad will make it impossible for small cotton farmers to sell overseas at cost-of-production prices.

By 1939 the US had lost a large part of its world market. Before World War I, American cotton represented two-thirds of the world's trade in raw cotton. After 1920 the share of the US steadily decreased, until in 1934-38 US cotton exports amounted to only 41 percent of the world cotton trade. Rayon appeared as a competitor in the twenties, and by 1942 its world production had reached the equivalent of 8.2 million bales of cotton. The American market was also hurt by cotton produced in India, Egypt and Brazil. During World War II, exports declined to an average of about 1.4 million bales. Despite an increase in exports after the fighting stopped, average exports of American cotton for the two years ending July 1, 1947, were only about half of the rate of the twenties and early thirties. Department of Agriculture economist Maurice Cooper says we may be able to export 3.5 to four million bales of the present crop if we loan or give the money to buy it.

Only rapid, wide-scale mechanization, say some economists and big growers, can save King Cotton. Yet they admit that mechanization will put most farmers out of business because their farms are too small, hilly, eroded and poorly equipped for efficient production. Estimates of future displaced workers in the South vary from one to five million, despite the fact that 1,765,000 farm people have left the South in the last seven years.

Great strides have already been made in efficiency on large farms. Near Montgomery, Alabama, cotton was produced last year for eight cents a pound, and on some farms in the Delta and in Texas, estimates of labor required to produce an acre of cotton vary from six to 20 hours on completely mechanized farms. The average amount of labor required for one-mule farms varies from 130 to 150 hours per acre. Most observers agree that the small cotton farmer in the South hasn't got a chance to survive over the next few years, although his immediate prospects are rather bright because war damage ruined his competitors.



Loss of foreign markets, low prices and cotton destroyed by the boll weevil have brought about considerable shifts in acreage during the last 15 years. Small cotton growers in the South who got tired of raising food for the boll weevils and having the banks take their tools and farms, went out of the cotton-growing business altogether. The section I lived in is representative of this trend. Until the end of 1920 almost the entire population of Sequoyah County, Oklahoma, was directly or indirectly dependent on cotton. Then, in the fall of 1920, the price dropped from 38 cents to eight cents and the boll weevil ate up a third of the crop. The seven lean years in Sequoyah County were 1921 to 1927, and farmers and those who furnished them money and supplies were frantic. Finally the farmers, the merchants and the bankers all went broke together.

After 1927 in Sequoyah County cotton was gradually abandoned. Farmers raised cattle, hogs, truck crops and potatoes. They concentrated more on raising food for the family, and although times were hard for many years, the county as a whole was more prosperous than during the twenties. When I went back last year, I didn't see a single field of cotton, although I was told that a few bales were still raised. I was also told that the credit system was gone, that nearly everybody paid cash and that the county was more prosperous than it had ever been.

Throughout the South at large, cotton acreage has declined by about half in the last 15 years, and many people feel that the boll weevil was a blessing in disguise. In one Alabama county a statue was erected to the little brown bug.

But drastic remedies are necessary to cure a serious disease. If the family-size farm is to survive, in the South as elsewhere, it must become larger. Millions of acres of eroded soil must be rejuvenated and most Southern farms must be mechanized. Small farmers must receive billions of dollars of credit and a vast and far-reaching reconstruction program must be carried out. Southerners must be allowed

[1] In a few weeks the House Agriculture Committee will release a voluminous report on cotton which a large group of experts have been working on for more than two years. Conclusions reached and material presented here were largely taken from an advance copy of this report.

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to build their own factories, process their own products and raise their own milk, eggs and meat. (To see how the North exploits the South, read *Revolt of the South and West,* by A. G. Mezerik.) The several million Southerners who are freed from King Cotton must be given jobs. There is no point in trying to cure agriculture by turning a couple of million people off the land to haunt the highways and to starve in the cities of the nation.

What is needed, of course, is some kind of balance in the economic system of the South. Economists say that making agriculture efficient should not create problems if there is a parallel expansion in industry. Those freed from the one-mule farms can become city workers who will buy the food and fiber the remaining farmers produce. They will also manufacture machinery and other things the farmers need. Thus agriculture and industry can, or could, prosper together.

ANGUS MCDONALD

# Bandwagon

*Now You See Him . . .*

Despite recent denials of rumors that Russia's Marshall George Zhukov has been condemned to 15 years' forced labor, allegedly for spreading sedition in the Soviet Army, and despite the absence of direct data on his fate, there seems little doubt that the great Russian military hero of World War II has been liquidated.

The reported visit to Bulgaria by Russian Marshal Georgi K. Zhukov, who commands the South Russian military area with headquarters at Odessa, is stirring much comment in military and diplomatic quarters in Washington. – *Eugene Tillinger and Constantine Brown, respectively, in the Washington* Evening Star *of September 1, 1947.*

*Old Glory*

O'Konski (R, Wis.) is president of the American Anti-Communist Association, in which capacity he presented American flags a few months ago to four Washington high-school youngsters who walked out on a lecture about Russia rather than soil their ears with such stuff. – *From the Minneapolis* Sunday Tribune.

*It's Fun to Be Free*

Big Labor replaced Big Business, and for 12 years the individual workman lost most of the rights he had gained in the 70 years from 1865 to 1935. . . . Then came the counter-revolution. Despite the opposition of the President of the United States and all the pressure and blackmail of the labor bosses, the 80th Congress passed a law redeeming the workman from his bondage. . . . After 12 years the American workman again is the freest workman in the world. – *From an editorial in the Los Angeles* Times.

*Dismal Failure*

Wonderful for all other purposes, the ram-jet still cannot strike and kill at the full 5,000 miles demanded for the war between the continents. – *From an article by Joseph and Stewart Alsop in the* Saturday Evening Post.

*The City of Wonderful Nonsense*

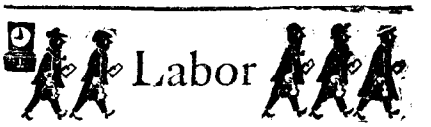
All mothers of babies born today in Southern California hospitals will receive from the *Examiner* a Prince Valiant baby certificate and announcement of the arrival of the future king of Thule. – *From the Los Angeles* Examiner.

*Pearls Before Swine*

HARRY, COME BACK

I'm Now Using Gordon-Moore's English Toothpaste. Oh, darling, you can't imagine the difference it makes. Listen, sweet, it actually TINTS MY GUMS a simply lovely, healthy pink and makes my teeth look so white and sparkling. . . . AND THE FLAVOR. Oh, darling, the flavor is m-m-m-m! I know it's expensive, honey, but you're worth it. – *Advertisement of Gordon-Moore & Company in the Los Angeles* Daily News.

*Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o* New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS




## *Wildcat*

Two "wildcat" strikes recently have checked important production processes in Great Britain and the United States. An examination of these two "wildcats" may shed some light on the ineffectiveness of punitive legislation, in a democracy, to control labor disputes.

A group of Yorkshire coal miners walked off their jobs in Great Britain. Soon other Yorkshiremen joined them, and then the strike spread until 50,000 men were out of the pits at a time when Britain desperately needed every ton of coal production for national survival. The Labor Government appealed to the strikers; the president of the miners' union, Will Lawther, and the Communist union boss, Arthur Horner, decried the walkout as sheer anarchy. Horner, the avowed Red who is regularly publicized in some American magazines as a kind of bogeyman to frighten our native capitalists, warned that the strike could bring down the Labor Government by causing another "coal crisis" this winter.

Yet all appeals, for a time, were useless. The vast majority of Yorkshire miners are not Communists; communism was certainly not an issue in the strike. The issue, on the surface, was simply whether the miners would live up to an agreement, executed in return for the grant of a five-day week, to dig two extra feet of coal daily. Obstinate Yorkshiremen felt aggrieved as a result of the application of this agreement. The best explanation British spokesmen in Washington could give was that perhaps the National Coal Board managers treated the men "somewhat tactlessly." They didn't condone the strike; they said it was completely foolish, because "Britain cannot afford the luxury of a coal strike." But they "can't help feeling" that "tactlessness" must somewhere have entered the picture.

In this country a wildcat strike erupted at the same time among

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traditionally conservative Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers employed by the Union Railroad, subsidiary of United States Steel, which serves the huge Carnegie-Illinois Steel plant at Pittsburgh, another US Steel affiliate.

A. F. Whitney and Alvanley Johnston, national presidents of the unions involved, promptly termed the walkout "unauthorized." But after a few days the strike was still going on and thousands of steelworkers were laid off their jobs for lack of materials and freight transportation. The top-flight union spokesmen sent into Pittsburgh had no luck whatsoever in halting immediately the "unauthorized" walkout of their rank-and-file comrades.

The issues were clear enough, because a similar strike occurred last year on the Monongahela Connecting Railroad, owned by the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. Railroad workers on "captive" lines owned by steel companies have long resented the fact that they lack the advantages of CIO members employed by the same parent company. It is not strange that US Steel workers who happen to be railroad-brotherhood members should strike for paid vacations comparable to those the company grants the vast majority of its employees. The dispute was finally settled for a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase and a new vacation schedule.

The Yorkshiremen's coal strike took place under a Socialist government which the miners themselves helped put into office and which, doubtless, they would again support at the polls. The railroad wildcat at Pittsburgh took place under the American system of free enterprise, against a company which is traditionally the bellwether of American big industry. And in neither country did harassed officials—union, government or corporation—have much luck in their first appeals for settlement.

IS THERE a lesson in these two wildcat strikes to the gentlemen who passed the Taft-Hartley Act under the illusion that it would stimulate industrial peace? The British couldn't put 50,000 Yorkshire miners into prison; they would have had to imprison the whole union movement if they had tried. And our government, even if it had the legal power, couldn't settle the Pittsburgh strike by jailing the strikers.

The problem of labor relations is one of the most difficult areas of human relations in a democracy. A repressive British law—the Trade Disputes Act of 1927—was repealed last year by the Labor Government. A repressive American law, conceived in ignorance and confusion, was passed this year by Congress, but no one who understands industrial relations expects it to work effectively. There is one way to "control" strikes—to smash them by smashing the whole labor movement, as Hitler did. But short of that, a democracy has to work its way painfully through an enormously complicated problem with patience and good will.

TAFT-HARTLEY BLUES.—True to prediction, John L. Lewis temporarily blocked a decision by the AFL executive council to sign the non-Communist affidavits required under the Taft-Hartley Act. Even if this stand is reversed by the AFL convention at San Francisco next month, it does not mean that the new NLRB will prove of much value to the unions. When unions actually try to prove charges against employers under new, strict procedural rules established in the Taft-Hartley Act, future cases before the board are likely to become less numerous. William Green emphasized that he and the whole AFL will fight for repeal of the law even if it costs the original Wagner Act and the Labor Board itself.

In a federal district court, the Oil Workers' Union (CIO) lost its demand that a case be processed despite the refusal of union officers to file non-Communist affidavits. That clears the way for an appeal to the Supreme Court. In the meantime, another federal district court agreed to hear union claims that the portal-pay law, wiping out existing lawsuits, was unconstitutional. It looks as if the courts are in for plenty of business.

WILLARD SHELTON

# Correspondence

*Undercover Agents*

SIR: In your editorial, "Gambler's Choice in China" [the *NR*, July 21], we note the following statement:

> Their [Chinese] secret service, for example, operates clandestinely from the Washington Embassy, and the former chief-of-staff of the Chinese army maintains an independent office in New York City.

I wish to state, on behalf of the Chinese Embassy in Washington, that the above statement is entirely untrue and unfounded.

The Chinese Embassy is the diplomatic mission of the Chinese government in the United States. Its functions in Washington are exactly the same as those of the American Embassy in Nanking. It is not doing any "undercover activity in this country."

The former chief-of-staff of the Chinese army mentioned in the editorial presumably is General Ho Yin-chin. General Ho, upon his retirement as chief-of-staff of the Chinese army, has been appointed Chinese member of the Military Staff Committee of the United Nations. Since the committee holds its meetings in New York City, General Ho naturally maintains his office there. . . .

His activities, like those of the Chinese Embassy, are official and well known. There is nothing "undercover" about them. His work, like that of his colleagues from the US, UK, USSR and France, is confined to the Military Staff Committee.

JOSEPH KU, First Secretary,
*New York City* Chinese Embassy

[The *New Republic* would be more than pleased to report that the Chinese Embassy shelters no member of Chiang's secret service. Unfortunately, this is not the case. Operatives of General Tai Li, chief of China's Gestapo, who served at the embassy during the war, openly disclosed their identity to American naval intelligence. The *New Republic* is informed that despite General Tai's death last year, his organization still has agents planted throughout the structure of Chinese government agencies in this country.

The identity of such agents may not be known to Dr. Ku. Like the secret police of other totalitarian states, their hierarchy operates independently and beyond the control of formal diplomatic officials who may be blameless.

It is true the *New Republic* was

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referring to General Ho Yin-chin. It is true that he is now Chinese delegate to the UN Military Staff Committee. But it is also true that General Ho's personal agents were in this country long before he was appointed to his present position, and presumably will remain after he departs.

While the Chinese Embassy is scrupulously observant of all forms of diplomatic intercourse, it should be noted that it fulfills several functions which are associated only with totalitarian states. It is, for example, expressly charged with supervision of the conduct of Chinese students in this country, and exercises a constant check on their loyalty of thought and action to the government in Nanking. – THE EDITORS]

*Campaign Strategy for '48*

SIR: In recent years Democratic liberals have been continually thwarted by fear that the Southern Democrats might bolt the party. This was particularly evident at the 1944 convention, when Henry Wallace was refused the vice-presidential nomination. My contention is that liberal Democrats should no longer fear the breaking off of the Southern reactionaries. . . .

A strong, liberal Democratic Party does not need the votes of the "Solid South" to elect a President! Most people do not realize it, but the fact is that President Roosevelt had such an overwhelming majority of the Electoral College votes in all four of his elections that even if in every one the "Solid South" had gone completely Republican, Roosevelt would still have won the presidency each time. . . .

Even if the worst should happen and the South should completely turn about and give all its votes to the Republicans, I believe that the Democrats could, with the right liberal candidate, win in 1948. . . .

From the point of view of practical political strategy, it is my belief that the Democratic Party would stand a better chance, with the South broken off, if they nominated a liberal dark horse, such as Chester Bowles, rather than Henry Wallace, as their candidate. Much as I admire and support Wallace, I am afraid that he has become too much identified with the far Left in the eyes of too many crucial independent voters to win such a close election. A candidate like Bowles, however, while having the support of all those who would vote for Wallace, would also, I am convinced, be able to win over enough independent liberals, middle-of-the-roaders and even progressive Republicans to carry the election. . . .

ROBBINS W. BARSTOW JR.

*Niantic, Conn.*


# *One-tenth of the nation is a lot of people . . .*

. . . and through no fault of their own they are a "problem," the "Negro problem." Also an American problem.

You who are well-informed know all its ramifications—discrimination, segregation, lack of equal economic opportunities, and the like.

What have you done about it?

Most likely you have given the problem some attention, perhaps through political activity, perhaps in community programs.

There's one more thing—a very important thing—you can do—help the Urban League, the only social service agency that deals with virtually every problem our 13,000,000 Negroes face every day.

The League operates branches in 56 cities, carrying on constructive work to improve the conditions under which Negroes work and live.

The League works with labor, with management, with social welfare agencies, with community groups and with government departments.

Specifically, the League:

- Confers with business to increase job opportunities for skilled Negroes. (Telephone companies, department stores, etc.)
- Conducts vocational guidance programs to train Negroes for new openings.
- Initiates and/or participates in community planning on general and interracial questions.
- Conducts job placement and referral departments.
- Works in a variety of ways against discrimination and for better housing, education, health and recreation facilities for Negroes.

Following are a few 1946 statistics indicating the League's scope:

- 48,221 persons interviewed and referred to jobs; 27,701 others placed.
- 17,336 war veterans given special guidance, counseling and placement service.
- 18,420 others given vocational counseling and guidance service.
- 28,175 persons aided through personal and family services.

(Fuller details available on request.)

The Urban League program is more vital today than ever before in its 37-year history because of the tremendous increase in urban Negro populations as a result of the war.

The Urban League Service Fund, supported by enlightened business men, professionals and labor, seeks $450,000 to finance the year's activities of the National Urban League and the Urban League of Greater New York.

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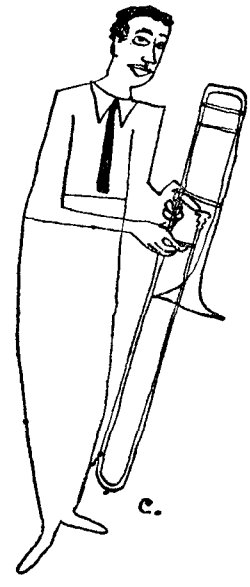
# Music

## *Mostly Solo*

IN the past year I have had the pleasure of working on two radio shows in which Pearl Bailey made guest appearances, and I'll never forget how she took over both programs, selling herself not only to the studio audiences but to the other performers and musicians as well. When you can impress a studio musician, you're pretty special in the business, and these boys couldn't keep their eyes off her. This is partly because the best way to hear Miss Bailey is to watch her. She sings with her hands almost as much as she does with her vocal chords, and the press agent who dreamed up the description of her as "two hands and a voice" was more accurate than most people in the profession. During the course of a song, she weaves an amazingly intricate pattern of gestures that actually become part of the lyrics (as well as the ad-libs), and I sometimes wonder if she'd be able to sing a note if her hands were tied.

But of course it's what comes out of her mouth that really counts, and Miss Bailey's records don't fall short of her live performances. She has a warm, pleasant voice, with a touch of sex and a generous portion of good humor, and she phrases her lyrics in a lagging manner that creates an admirable picture of a woman with plenty of time on her hands. I'm constantly reminded of Fats Waller when I hear her, for she rambles through a song with countless asides from the lyrics and with the same broad-wink subtlety that Fats used to perfection. Frequently she just seems to be talking to herself and the listener begins to wonder if she's forgotten the words, when all of a sudden she's back in the song again as if she'd never left it. But this absent-mindedness doesn't jar, for, like her hands, her rambling blends with the song and gives it a continuity and pace that the lyrics could never supply. She's a thoroughly



captivating artist and has made a number of outstanding records for Columbia, including "That's Good Enough for Me," "Tired," "Legalize My Name" and "Fifteen Years." Her most recent offering is a typical Bailey vehicle entitled "Get It off Your Mind," teamed up with "St. Louis Blues."

I WOULDN'T mind having some of the other crooners' money but I'd rather have Billy Eckstine's voice. This young man sings like a man, and his powerful vibrato and warm intonations make him the top present-day ballad singer in my book. In a field of endeavor that's phony to the point of nausea, Eckstine is a breath of fresh air. Bobby-soxers and adults alike should get a kick out of his newest sides, "The Wildest Gal in Town" and "On the Boulevard of Memories" (M-G-M).

Woody Herman, too, has recently tried his hand at ballads, and the popular bandleader does a more than creditable job for Columbia with "Baby, Baby, All the Time" and "Somebody Loves Me." It's nice to notice how he uses a blues-singing voice on strictly sentimental material. The combination is remarkably easy on the ears.

One of the most exciting small jazz bands that played during the roaring thirties was the combination that recorded for Bluebird and Vocalion under Wingy Manone's name. Actually the group was the nucleus of Bob Crosby's large orchestra and included Eddie Miller (tenor sax), Matty Matlock (clarinet), Nappy Lamare (guitar) and Ray Bauduc (drums), with Wingy handling the trumpet choruses. The records these men made represent to me just about the ultimate in modern Dixieland jazz and it's pleasing to note a rivival of this combination on the Capitol label, this time under Eddie Miller's name. The boys dig into "Muskrat Ramble" with a bounce that's happily familiar, and let themselves go with a two chorus ensemble finish reminiscent of days when this kind of jazz was the rule. The reverse side features Miller, backed by a different group, playing a long, slow chorus of "You Ought to Be in Pictures," with some nice trumpet and more tenor sax when the band picks up the beat.

Equally nostalgic is Columbia's reissue of Louis Armstrong's "Star Dust," made with the full orchestra in 1931. Armstrong's vocal on this side is one of the most representative of his "kill-the-lyrics" choruses, and it's marvelous. Reverse, "Wrap Your Troubles in Dreams," was recorded the same year.

ANOTHER Columbia old-timer is a previously unreleased pair featuring the tenor sax of the late great Chu Berry, who played a style that's since been perverted into bebop. The records ("Chuberry Jam" and "Maelstrom") were cut in 1937 and show how a soloist can use technique to artistic advantage rather than for theatrical purposes, and Chu's choruses, while imaginative and occasionally weird, are nevertheless restrained and delicately thought out. He's accompanied by Mouse Randolph (whose trumpet makes me think of Bunny Berigan), Keg Johnson (trombone), Benny Paine (piano) and Leroy Maxey (drums). Both sides are rough, tough and strictly after-hours.

CHARLES MILLER

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# Radio

## *Curtain Time*

IF there is a calendar handy to your radio, it may help to convince you that this is the fall of 1947 and that a New Season has gone on the air. You couldn't tell otherwise. All, all the good things are back—as well as the corny and the ancient, the old tricks and the deep-grooved situations, the gags well remembered and the comedians who pull them. Baby Snooks badgers Daddy, and Gracie Allen ties George into a knot. Charlie McCarthy is as impudent as ever to Bergen, and Mortimer Snerd is still not smart. Soon Eddie Cantor will be back with his daughters, and Fred Allen with his Alley and Jack Benny with his fiddle. Except for a promise here and a lick there, nothing is changed.

This is not to say that I have not heard some interesting things recently. In several solid weeks of boning at the loud speaker for this report on the grand opening, I heard a number of important shows. The most memorable session came on a Monday when, inside a 12-hour stretch starting at 10:30 a.m., I heard both Tommy Dorsey's new show and Donald Duck's radio debut. Both are worth consideration, as phenomena if nothing else.

Before tackling the significance of the advent of Dorsey and the Duck, let me tell you briefly about some of the other shows worth recalling. There was a series of five documentaries on NBC, entitled "The Third Horseman." NBC, with all its facilities (and wealth), has lagged behind both CBS and ABC in experimentation with the documentary form. With "The Third Horseman," however, NBC really tried. The program was devoted to dramatic discussion of the world food situation. If your NBC affiliate did not carry it, it's still not too late.

The next show is an old one back from a holiday: "FBI in Peace and War" (CBS, Fridays, 9:30 p.m.). "Merchants of Hate," which was done on the season's première, handled a situation in which some small-town fascists persecute, then try to lynch, someone they dislike. Of course, the FBI galloped in to save the man and to teach the vigilantes a lesson in tolerance. You're entitled to your own opinion of the FBI's social sensitivity, but don't blame the show for your reservations.

Then on the day before I settled down to write of the new season, I heard "Juvenile Jury" return to Mutual (Sundays, 3:30 p.m.). Hearing it as it starts its second season on the air makes me marvel again at the humorlessness of a lot of good ladies I know. These ladies are Experts in child education, parent-child relationships, etc. They contended last year, and will again now, that "Juvenile Jury" is "harmful" because it teaches kids to be disrespectful of their elders.

That same night, "Theatre Guild on the Air" returned (ABC, Sundays, 9:30 p.m.). This hour-long dramatic program, you'll note, has been moved back a half-hour. It is the Guild's third

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season and it still offers the best dramatic show on the air. Very stiff competition may come, however, from the new, 60-minute "Ford Theatre," which NBC will unfold Sunday afternoons at five (opening date, October 5). But the show I heard, with Jimmy Stewart playing the lead in "One Sunday Afternoon," helped get the new season's old taste out of my mouth.

THEN came Monday, and Tommy Dorsey time. Dorsey's is not a network show but it is national in scope. Whatever you may think of disk jockeying as a trade or a threat, you cannot (at least I cannot) ignore a program that has been signed up by 150 local radio stations around the country. All together, US radio has thus far scheduled a total of 35,000 hours a year for the Dorsey derby.

Having heard Dorsey, and having convinced myself that the figure of 35,000 was no mere boast, I went back to my radio that night to listen to the ABC network. Here, a difficult job was being undertaken—a dramatization of the Twentieth Century Fund's recently published *America's Needs and Resources.* I give the ABC network credit for a most interesting, highly imaginative effort, which I don't think quite succeeded. For a full hour, the show tried to show me that Life Can Be Beautiful by 1960, if only we try.

Walt Disney loaned his most lovable characters to the effort, the ABC network importing for this show the familiar voices of Donald Duck and Jiminy Cricket, Grumpy and Sneezy and the other Dwarfs. There was a chorus, and the Duck quacked, and Jiminy Cricket explained facts statistical and matters hopeful to the unbelieving Grumpy. But when it was all added up, one saw life in 1960 only as something gadgety, like the Futurama at the New York World's Fair. The title of the show was "1960?—Jiminy Cricket!" The question mark remained. But ABC's willingness to experiment, and the pains and costs and imagination that went into the production of this musical documentary, deserve full credit.

SAUL CARSON

# Movies

## *Oh, To Be in England*

IT remains to be seen, now that England must increase her film cutput in order to fill theaters cut off from the Hollywood source, whether the pictures will maintain their high standard. At the moment, foreign films, and conspicuously among them the British, have an edge on ours that cannot be shouted down with cries of snobbery.

This week I have seen one American film, "The Kiss of Death," which has received notices above its merits, and two British films. One of them, "Frieda," has to do with the guilt of an individual for the sins of a nation; or whether it is feasible to reëducate a German through decency. The other, "I Know Where I'm Going," is a love story in which the locales and photography are superb and the action handled with care. The difference between European films and ours, it may be, is in the matter of feeling, a question of the quality of the attention brought to them. One way of putting it: it is like the difference between a look and a regard.

"The Kiss of Death" is good in the it's-so-much-better-than-most kind of criticism by desperation. "Frieda," though it doesn't come off, at least has qualities of dignity which, while they may not convince entirely, engender some respect. "I Know Where I'm Going" is, quite simply, one of the most enjoyable pictures of the year.

Henry Hathaway, who made "The House on 92nd Street" and "16 Rue Madeleine," has turned out in "The Kiss of Death" that old story of the crook who turns squealer and suffers the usual retribution therefor. Like its forerunners, it was made largely against real New York backgrounds. I can't be sure of the influence which produced the one arresting performance in "The Kiss of Death," but it may stem from Frances Robinson Duff. It was she who taught emphasis

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through the use of unusual parts of the body, and I'm reminded of her because Richard Widmark, a serious young actor who almost completely steals the show, can act with his teeth. He somehow accentuates them so that his very white, ghastly smile is practically a performance in itself. Widmark, as alert as a mouse, plays a slightly built, sadistic killer, and the only trouble with his characterization is that again well enough has not been left alone: repetition for effect ends by losing it completely. Widmark has been prominent on radio shows, and was good in a play called "Trio."

Sadism, incidentally, has taken over the position in the movies once occupied by True Love—it will be a happy day when the trend exhausts itself.

BECAUSE a good deal of thought has gone into the making of "Frieda" and because it moves slowly and heavily (the principals are apt to stare at one another, immobile, for long periods), it becomes spuriously impressive. The problem, affecting and provoking, has to do with an Englishman who brings a German wife home to the rancor of his family and his town. Although the writers—Ronald Millar and Angus MacPhail—pull their punches pretty consistently, I suppose they deserve credit for having brought up the subject at all. A valid dilemma is developed timidly but honestly. One fault of the picture is that the theme is built to an inevitable, intolerable climax, which is snatched back for a happy ending.

"Frieda," though, is no shoddy, threadbare work. It has the good characterizations usual in English films, scenes photographed to give you a sure feeling of actuality, and quiet acceptance of mood and situation. I liked David Farrar better here than in "Black Narcissus." Frieda is played by Mai Zetterling, who gave a prize performance as the victim of love and poverty in the Swedish film, "Torment." In "Frieda" she is directed too stiffly by Basil Dearden to achieve credibility or warmth. She has, incomprehensibly, been compared here to Garbo, who never played dead-pan in her life.

"I KNOW WHERE I'M GOING" is about a stubborn girl's journey to an island in the Hebrides to marry a rich old man, and of how her heart is governed in the end by the impoverished laird of the place and by his noble neighbors of high degree and low. The shots of the sea in varying moods, of the hills and castles and houses, of a telephone booth, even, are fine. Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger have written, directed and produced this film with Roger Livesey ("Colonel Blimp," "Stairway to Heaven," etc.), Wendy Hiller, Pamela Brown (whose performances in Gilgud's "The Importance of Being Earnest" and "Love for Love" were the high points of the New York theater last season) and Captain C. W. R. Knight, as the colonel with his falcon and his difficult eagle. The people who made this film have taste; they are adept at creating excitement and even shock, and are on friendly terms with imagery and fable.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

### FLASHBACKS

THE ROOSEVELT STORY—The documents of this picture are superb; the execution is deplorable. Fortunately for us, the genius of Roosevelt is intractable. It's a great picture.

CROSSFIRE—An engrossing movie, ideal in conception, workmanship and casting. Please note: this is as good as the foreign films that have been taking the honors these last few weeks.

BLACK NARCISSUS—The Himalayas are background for a beautiful picture treating of the experiences of a small group of Protestant sisters who battle the elements and the perversity of human nature.

THE SECRET LIFE OF WALTER MITTY, with Danny Kaye—Dull in spots but, on the whole, imaginative and amusingly zany.

ODD MAN OUT—James Mason and an extraordinarily good cast in a picture not so good as John Ford's "The Informer," but not to be missed.


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